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ABSTRACT

Four lengthy papers and an introduction discuss case studies of regional disparities in educational development in Cameroon, Madagascar, Kenya, Tanzania, and Thailand. In considering the specific political and socioeconomic contexts of these countries, the papers focus on methods of both analyzing the causes of disparities and reducing the resultant inequalities. The introduction by the two editors summarizes the papers and the issues involved. Jean-Yves Martin's paper on Cameroon and Philippe Hugon's on Madagascar examine the sociohistorical causes of regional disparities and discuss the proper geographical unit to use in measuring educational disparities. Kamol Sudaprasert, Vichai Tunsiri, and Ta Ngoc Chau address the problem of data analysis in a paper on Thailand's regional disparities in educational access, social characteristics, and socioeconomic development. Finally, David Court and Kabiru Kinyanjui compare Kenyan and Tanzanian efforts to reduce regional disparities: Kenya attempted to expand its educational system while Tanzania tried to redistribute educational opportunities. (Author/RW)

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ED213105

# Regional disparities in educational development: *diagnosis and policies for reduction*

*edited by*
Gabriel Carron and Ta Ngoc Châu

*with contributions by*
Jean-Yves Martin · Philippe Hugon
Kamol Sudaprasert and Vichai Tunsiri
David Court and Kabiru Kinyanjui

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*with contributions by*
Philip Foster, Pierre Furter, Stephen P. Heyneman,
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# Preface

It is now generally accepted that the period of global growth in education systems characteristic of the last two decades has not sufficed to democratize education. Equity objectives are now tending to be treated as a higher priority than overall growth. In a growing number of countries plans now seek to translate the goals of democratization into concrete terms, in the form of measures to reduce specific inequalities. People are no longer focusing exclusively on the general notion of more equal opportunities and now aim at more specific definitions of goals, such as more equal opportunities of access to different levels of education, more equal opportunities of completing a given course of education, equalizing school performance, equalizing conditions of access to the jobs and career opportunities. Further, they are now examining inequalities affecting specific categories of people: women, deprived groups, rural areas, backward regions. As they evolve, the notion of inequality, and the desire to take effective remedial measures, are coming to assume different forms: in some cases the increase in resources devoted to education has not uniformly benefited every category in society, and growth has created new inequalities; elsewhere, it is the growth of the education system which has made disparities once regarded as inevitable more keenly felt; sometimes the unevenness of economic development has sparked off new demands on the part of backward regions, and has resulted also in an increase in social pressure for more education. In most cases, the realization of the existence of disparities has been an indirect consequence of growth, and has expressed itself as a reaction against inequalities.

As part of its first Medium-term Plan (1973–1978), the IIEP carried out a series of studies of regional inequalities, to which many countries are attaching increasing importance in their economic and social development policies. Several studies deal with conceptual aspects, by examining the policies aimed at reducing regional disparities, and the economic, political and social factors which underlie these policies. In addition, several national case studies examine the way in which regional inequalities in education have assumed different forms in different socio-political contexts.

Most of these studies were discussed at a seminar organized by the IIEP in

November 1978; they were subsequently revised by their authors for publication in volume form.

In the meantime, the Institute has drawn useful conclusions from these studies and the discussion of them for its 1979–1983 Medium-term Plan. The principal theme of this Plan is the study of educational reforms, with a view to adapting educational planning and administrative methods to the new tasks entailed by the preparation and implementation of these reforms. Among them, particular attention is paid to reforms designed to reduce educational inequalities: not only regional inequalities, but also inequalities affecting rural areas, women, deprived groups, minorities. This programme will be implemented chiefly by means of co-operation with national research teams and institutions.

The Institute's programme of studies on regional disparities, as presented in this publication, has thus paved the way for subsequent activities touching on more varied aspects of inequality. These will, it is hoped, contribute to improving the methods of diagnosis, planning and administration of the measures to be taken, at both central and local levels, to reduce inequalities.

Michel Debeauvais
*Director, IIEP*

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# Introduction

Gabriel Carron and Ta Ngoc Châu

Over the last three decades the education systems of most countries have grown very rapidly. This growth has often been accompanied by major reforms aiming chiefly at providing greater access to these systems and democratizing their operation. From the research viewpoint this twofold trend has given rise to numerous studies, first in the developed countries and subsequently in the developing countries, devoted to the question of educational inequalities.

It may seem surprising that the subject of regional inequalities has been neglected in this massive international research effort. Apart from certain analyses of inequalities between ethnic or racial groups, between the sexes, or, again, between rural and urban areas, the research workers have devoted most of their attention to studying inequalities between socio-professional categories. From the scientific viewpoint, this priority can be explained to the extent that the heart of the question of educational inequalities is closely tied to the structure of society and the unequal distribution of income, cultural assets and power among the various social groups.

However, the study of the regional dimension appears both important and useful for at least two reasons. Politically, first of all, the reduction of regional disparities has become a major concern in many countries. It is striking to observe that pursuit of this objective is given priority, even if other types of inequalities between rural and urban areas or between socio-economic groups, for example, are frequently greater than those between regions. To understand this priority, one must examine the very special role played by education in developing or maintaining national unity. On the one hand, the ruling classes look upon the school as the institution which will enable them to integrate the younger generations into a national culture, and this is why they are anxious that schools should be available in every region. On the other hand, any delay in educational development is soon interpreted by the regional communities as evidence of a lack of interest by the national authorities, and is likely to give rise to regional aspirations which constitute a threat to national unity. In those countries which have recently acquired independence the danger is all the more real in that this unity is still fragile, and ethnic, linguistic and religious differences underlie regional divisions. In such conditions, the reduction of regional disparities is regarded as a top-priority political necessity.

The second reason in favour of a regional approach is of a technical nature. For the planner, the objective of educational equalization is chiefly a question of arranging the supply of education. The education service should be organized in such a way that everyone can benefit from it under the same conditions. Seen from this viewpoint, the reduction of disparities is chiefly a problem of a spatial nature. Firstly, everyone must be provided with equal opportunities of access to schools, wherever he may live. This implies an equitable distribution of the education network throughout all the regions of the country, and the setting-up of a series of facilities aiming at bringing the services available and their clientèle closer together (school buses, canteens, boarding hostels, etc.).

Attention must then be paid to whether the service provided is of the same quality everywhere. While this principle is simple in theory, its application poses several problems which are still subjects for discussion. What is the 'quality' of a school, and what criteria can be used to measure it? In fact, the regional approach lends richness and complexity to the discussion by posing the question of the diversity of physical and human, linguistic and cultural entities characterizing the various regions. In view of this variety of situations, and accordingly of requirements, can equalization of the education service be identified with pure and simple standardization? If this is not the case, how can equalization be introduced while at the same time allowing for diversity?

It is clear that the educational planner's work is not limited to the mere organization of the school infrastructure. This is, as it were, the basic task shared by him with the planner in any other social sector, whether health or civil defence. However, the school is far more than a mere service; it is at the same time the machinery by which culture is transmitted or transformed, and by which social functions and status are assigned. This is why planning as a function of the objective of equalization cannot be restricted to organizing a balanced location of educational supply, but must at the same time cover the effects that operation of this supply will bring about at the level of more general inequalities, whether of a cultural, political or socio-economic nature. In other words, the regional approach can be justified for technical reasons, but analysis cannot be restricted to this narrow framework of thought. It should, on the contrary, constantly link up the analysis of educational disparities with questions of inequalities in general.

## A. Outline of the IIEP research project

These reflections were the starting point for the IIEP research project on the topic of regional disparities in the field of education. In view of the lack of an established body of knowledge, the project was above all of an exploratory nature, the main objective being to give rise to a general discussion on the importance and significance of regional disparities in various geographic and cultural contexts, and on the pertinence of the objective of reducing these disparities in various economic, social and political situations.

To attain this objective, a series of contributions were requested from research workers in various disciplines and from various countries. The result was two types of monograph. The monographs of the first type are rather general and conceptual in nature. They set out different and sometimes contrary points of view on three complementary topics: the relationships between regional disparities in education and the economic, social, cultural and political development process; the pertinence of the regional framework for analysis of disparities in the field of education; and, lastly, the potential and implications of a policy of reduction of regional disparities in this field. Other monographs deal with the specific situation in one or more given countries, endeavouring to provide a concrete illustration of certain more theoretical and conceptual points of discussion.

The eight monographs prepared were presented and discussed during a discussion workshop held at the end of 1977, which brought together the various authors and a limited number of research workers invited to give their critical opinion of the project. Most of the monographs were afterwards substantially revised in the light of the very rich exchanges of views which took place during the meeting.

For publication purposes the monographs have been brought together in two volumes. The first volume contains four contributions which set out four different and often contrary points of view on the question of disparities. Three of these contributions are of a general nature, although two of them refer to specific geographical contexts: P. Foster's study is based chiefly on the situation in Africa, and P. Furter's on the situation in Europe. The fourth contribution is a national case study setting out the experience of a socialist country, Hungary.

The authors were intentionally chosen from contrasting disciplines and schools of thought. This is why the reader will find in this work reflections based on an economist's approach as well as on a socio-cultural approach, and on a socialist outlook as well as on a liberal outlook. At no time did the Institute endeavour to impose a single frame of reference or conclude as to any convergent theory whatsoever. The question of inequalities is by its very nature a subject of controversy. The subject is even more controversial when the discussion is more specifically directed towards the policy (or rather policies) of reducing the inequalities, as was the case in this project. Not only will the value assigned to the concrete objectives of reducing inequalities depend very largely on each one's personal and ideological beliefs, but also, and above all, what can be achieved in a given socio-political system can not necessarily be achieved in another. This is merely to say that the texts contained in the first volume have no other aim than to pose questions and stimulate reflection by the planner, to whom they are chiefly addressed, concerning the potential and limitations of a policy of equalization in the context of his own country.

The same remarks apply to the national case studies contained in the second volume. From the methodological viewpoint, these studies illustrate various methods of diagnosis and analysis of the determinants influencing present disparities. At the same time, they show the implications and constraints involved in certain equalization measures applied in specific socio-economic and political development contexts. They in no way claim to present models or standard solutions.

The choice of countries, moreover, was made not as a function of the criterion of representativeness, but on the basis of more pragmatic rules and for reasons of convenience, either because contact was possible with research workers having experience in the subject, or because the data already existed and did not need to be specially collected. Three of the four studies deal with African countries (Cameroon, Madagascar, and Kenya and Tanzania), and one deals with an Asian country (Thailand). It would no doubt have been more enriching to have a more diversified range of geographical and cultural situations. However, it may be hoped that the various authors' approach to the general research topic is sufficiently open to provide their studies with a wider interest extending beyond the national framework to which they refer.

## B. Contents of the present volume

The studies brought together in this volume contain reflections concerning three complementary topics of discussion. The first is the question of measurement of disparities. How can we measure the extent of the disparities at a given point in time, and how can we measure their evolution over a period of time? The second topic concerns the determinants of disparities. What are the mechanisms influencing the creation and reproduction of regional imbalances in the development of education systems? The analysis of these mechanisms leads to deeper reflection on the complex interactions between educational supply and demand. The third topic, lastly, deals with policies for reduction of disparities. How do governments endeavour to face the problem of regional imbalances, and what can we learn from a study of various measures adopted by them, with respect to the potential for reducing these imbalances?

### *1. Measurement of regional disparities*

Measurement of regional disparities poses two preliminary problems mentioned in the various case studies. Firstly, there is the question of choice of analysis unit. What is the territorial unit to be adopted for studying the phenomenon of disparities? To what type of region should priority be given: the geographic, economic, socio-political or quite simply the administrative region? In fact, everything will depend on the type of analysis one wants to make, the implicit assumptions one wants to test, and the extent to which the data available are broken down. If the aim is merely to obtain an idea of the territorial configuration of educational disparities, that is, to define relatively homogeneous areas at different levels of educational development, a given administrative breakdown need merely be selected (preferably that giving the smallest possible units in order that they may be as homogeneous as possible), the significant educational variables identified (e.g., primary-education entrance rates, or the rate of continuance at this level), the mean values of these variables calculated for each of the units, and grouped according to various predetermined levels so as to obtain relatively homogeneous regions from the educational viewpoint. The study on Thailand provides a concrete illustration of this procedure.

On the other hand, when the analysis is of a more explanatory nature and aims at testing the relationships between educational disparities and other regional characteristics, other criteria of regional breakdown will have to be adopted than educational variables. One can accordingly define geographic, economic or cultural regions and see to what extent these breakdowns coincide with various levels of educational development and in fact constitute a satisfactory framework for explanation.

Both P. Hugon and J.-Y. Martin deal with this question at length. In view of their objective, which is to examine to what extent and in what ways educational disparities have been modelled by the colonization process, characterized by the gradual diffusion of a market econony and the gradual imposition of a state system, they opt for a regional framework giving priority to economic and socio-political breakdown criteria. To qualify this type of region, J.-Y. Martin speaks of a 'socio-historical composite'' which he regards as the resultant of various phenomena which forge the social space: natural environmental conditions, the various relationships maintained by various social systems with this environment, and, finally, the way in which the political and economic, internal and external determinants influence these relationships. 'A region is therefore at the same time a geographical area, a socio-economic unit and a history' (p. 42). In this type of analysis, we are accordingly far from a static, one-dimensional view of regional divisions. Rather than being regarded as a stable entity, the region is considered as a moving framework within which develops the dynamics of history, of which schooling development is only one aspect.

In practice, however, whatever be the breakdown criteria adopted, inter-regional disparities can often be studied only by means of the administrative breakdown grid, since measurement of disparities is conditioned by the way in which the statistical data are collected and consolidated. Now, in most cases, collection and consolidation of these data is based on the existing administrative units; the problem faced in this case is to make two types of different regions coincide by means of more or less refined groupings and adjustments.

The second problem faced concerns the lack of adequate basic data. Frequently, available statistical data are limited to the most outward aspects of the education service: breakdown of pupils according to various characteristics, breakdown of teachers according to qualifications, number of sections and classrooms. Data concerning expenditure are less exhaustive and in particular less broken down. Insofar as concerns information concerning the quality of the education department (condition of school premises, quality and availability of school furnishings and equipment, amount of use of teaching facilities, in particular textbooks, etc.) or the regular assessment of the results of the education process, it is often non-existent.

This is why the most commonly employed measurement in case studies is the measurement of school attendance rates, which in fact give an ambiguous and frequently hard-to-interpret indication of the actual level of development of the education system. Attendance rates are based on the cumulative effects of three phenomena which should be distinguished: access, repeating and drop-outs. If the overall school attendance rates are employed, as is usually the case, a high proportion of repeating students has the effect of increasing the school attendance rate. Moreover, a system offering widespread access but in which there are numerous drop-outs may have the same school attendance rate as a system in which access is more restricted, but where the rate of continuance is higher. One would accordingly have to be able to calculate separately the extent of the three phenomena which influence children's participation in a given study cycle, and this is frequently impossible for want of adequate schooling data and sufficiently accurate and detailed population data. As we have seen, the position is even less satisfactory for the assessment of disparities in the quality of the education service provided. In this case, the measurements commonly employed are usually restricted to the percentage of qualified teachers and the teacher/pupil ratio. It can be seen, then, that a more thorough study of the question of educational disparities implies considerable improvement of the existing data-base.

It should be mentioned, however, that the data normally available are often inadequately exploited, whereas in themselves they make it possible, as shown by the contributions contained in this volume, to construct a certain number of useful indicators and carry out various interesting types of analysis.

The case study on Thailand shows what can be done in this field, on the basis of data generally available in most countries. On the basis of various charts and maps, making use of simple statistical analysis techniques, which require no major data-processing capacity, the study shows a way of exploring various types of measurement and rapidly testing the relationships between various educational variables or between educational variables and social, economic, cultural or political variables.

### *2. The determinants of regional disparities*

However, it is not enough to be able to measure the extent and evolution of regional disparities; what is required is an understanding of the mechanisms which create and reproduce them, so as to be able to realistically compare reduction policies. Two studies, that by J.-Y. Martin on Cameroon and that by P. Hugon on Madagascar, deal more specifically with this second topic for reflection. In both cases, the procedure adopted in the study is a socio-historical analysis endeavouring to systematically connect up the dynamics of educational development with past development, in a global social context, thereby shedding a new light on our understanding of the interaction between supply and demand for education. Both these analyses apply to countries which recently became independent. However, the interest of the proposed framework for analysis goes far beyond this concrete context.

By adopting an historical perspective, it is, firstly, evident that the interaction between the supply and demand for education cannot be understood by means of a mechanical and linear pattern of the instigation-response type, but that it has, in effect, taken on very different forms at different points in time and space. This is why present regional disparities cannot be understood without connecting them up to the dynamics of past educational development.

Generally speaking, what is shown by the analyses on Cameroon and Madagascar, is that a gradual reversal has taken place of the relative roles of education supply and demand. In the colonial era, or even the pre-colonial era in the case of Madagascar, the school was firstly imposed by force, then gradually extended according to the requirements of economic development and establishment of the state system. In the cut-off colonial society, the need for a school education was far from seeming natural, and demand remained relatively slight. The location of supply acted at that time as a driving force for school expansion, which concerned above all primary education.

On the eve of independence, however, the pressure of demand, which was more or less strong from group to group and from area to area, gradually became the determining factor in school growth. This reversal can be explained by several factors, two of which seem especially important: the gradual integration of the various communities into the market economy and the concomitant destruction of traditional socio-economic structures on the one hand, and exceptionally rapid population growth on the other hand. The combined effect of these two phenomena led to a major rural exodus. As Hugon explains, the school in this context came to be seen as a means of making a better success of this exodus towards the centres of production and the urban areas.

In addition, once independence was attained, the need for setting up national governments essential for the new state's functioning resulted in very rapid rises on the socio-professional scale according to the criterion of level of education acquired. This phenomenon merely increased an already strong demand for education, which naturally shifted towards the secondary- and higher-education levels as the primary-school certificate lost its 'sale value'.

On the socio-political level, J.-Y. Martin draws attention to another factor which led, in the context of Cameroon, to this reversal in the relationship between education supply and demand. According to him, colonial activity, which was from the outset a global intervention (economic, political and ideological), varied in importance in each of these fields according to the various stages of colonialization. At the beginning of European settlement, the nature of the contacts between the colonizing and colonized peoples was above all shaped by economic determinants. In this case, the location of schools was in fact determined very largely as a function of economic development requirements. Later on, more specifically after the Second World War, relations between colonies and other countries underwent a profound change: "the colonial powers came out of this war considerably weakened, whereas in the colonies a desire for a different status began to take root" (p. 37). Gradually, the political and ideological dimensions replaced economic determinants in the social relationship between the two worlds. The school "as both a thinking and an independent agency" (p. 31) contributed to this change. The result was a greater demand for education, which explains the fact that 'at this stage educational development began to overtake economic development' (p. 38). Since independence, the ideological function of the school, based on justifying the State's authority and developing a national spirit, continues to be a driving force in the growth of schooling.

However, these are overall movements which merely outline the framework within which are situated the regional imbalances to which educational development has given rise. In reality, the intensity of demand for schooling varies greatly depending on the region, and depending on the different types of contact which have been established between the European colonizers and the local societies. In order to understand this phenomenon of differentiation, J.-Y. Martin draws a reference framework taking into account basically three dimensions: the varied nature of colonial activities depending on their location in time and space, the specific socio-political structure of the various communities, and, lastly, the historical movement specific to each of them (pp. 31-32). A study of the varied interactions between these three dimensions enables regional units to be distinguished having their own dynamics of social development and reproduction. Educational development was at once a product of and a factor in this interaction. The development has taken place through specific regional patterns of educational development which continue to exert an influence in the post-colonial period.

Regional activities, however, should be located relative to the general structure of the inequalities apparent in educational development, and thereby connected to the process of global social differentiation which is a feature of the recently decolonized nations. By examining the relationships between various types of inequalities (regional, socio-professional, ethnic, and rural-urban), both Hugon and Martin note the capital importance of the rural-urban cleavage, which constitutes, as it were, the cardinal point around which turn the various currents running through national social development. 'Urbanization necessitates and therefore gives rise to education, the school feeds off the town and produces the different strata of urban society, strata which take on a dominant social position *vis-à-vis* the rural community' (p. 84). It is with reference to this dominant process of differentiation, characterized by the gradual establishment of a national bourgeoisie close to the State and set up in the towns, that the relative importance of the regional framework must be defined. 'In the first place, a region's lead or lag in terms of education still remains the decisive factor; secondly, this national bourgeoisie is based on regional substructures; and lastly, the functioning of these intra-regional processes follows a pattern which is independent of the forces at work on a national level'. (p. 85).

### *3. Policies for reduction of disparities*

These reflections on the determinants of regional disparities and their relationships with social inequalities as a whole, give an idea at once of the complexity and limitations of a policy of reduction of these disparities. The various case studies fully illustrate the difficulties encountered by governments in endeavouring to control the dynamics of growth of the education system and in redirecting past trends. Frequently, education has indeed developed in regions where the school system was inadequate, but its growth has hardly slowed down in those regions which were already privileged. Moreover, in those cases where, as a result of efforts expended with a view to attaining universal primary education, the divergences between backward and advanced regions are beginning to be made up at this level, the inequalities tend to shift to the higher levels of the education system. These observations appear to suggest that in many countries the logic of demand has continued to outweigh the logic of supply in spite of stated intentions and planning efforts.

What are these planning efforts? D. Court and K. Kinyanjui's contribution deals more specifically with this question. By comparing the experiments of Kenya and Tanzania, it provides a concrete illustration of the results and consequences, in different socio-political contexts, of a series of measures commonly planned by the authorities in order to achieve a reduction in disparities. For those countries where primary education is not yet universal, the measures in fact aim at two different, albeit complementary objectives. The first objective is to provide all young people with a minimum level of education, which at the same time implies widening *access* to the system and improving the rate of *continuance*. The second objective is to equitably distribute the limited number of openings available at the various levels of the post-primary education system. As the authors mention, this second objective is harder to implement, since it requires the setting-up of a system of selection which must function in accordance with criteria which appear equitable to everyone.

In the context of the financial constraints which are a feature of many countries at the present time, the widening of access to education implies the deployment of new resources. A measure frequently employed consists in calling on the local communities to take initiatives. As shown by the *Harambee* schools experiment in Kenya, this policy can undoubtedly have very positive effects on the overall growth of the system, but it does not necessarily lead to a reduction in disparities. The communities with the most highly developed school systems are those which have the most resources and which, accordingly, are likely to profit most from the growth of the system. The deployment of resources is not in itself a self-regulating mechanism able to reduce existing disparities. It implies on the part of the central authorities compensatory control and financing measures to counterbalance inequalities in the capacity and energy of different communities. The implementation of the 'Education for Self-reliance' policy in Tanzania provides a concrete example of this search for a balance, which is always hard to establish, between centralized management and local participation.

Moreover, the growth of education in underprivileged regions is not merely a problem of access but also one of continuance. It is precisely in these regions that drop-outs are the most numerous, frequently in the earliest years of studies. The measures adopted to remedy this problem range from rearrangement of the education network and the introduction of automatic promotion to a higher class, to efforts to train parents, and even physical constraint. However, judging by the relative stability of the school-wastage structure over the last few years, it would appear that these measures have been rather ineffective. What is striking, in fact, is that we still have very little knowledge as to the reasons for these drop-outs. The hypothesis has often been made that it is a question of the structure of educational supply, and that drop-outs can be explained chiefly by the lack of school facilities and the large number of incomplete schools, particularly in rural areas. Without explicitly rejecting this explanation, Court and Kinyanjui show that the phenomenon in question may be more complex, involving rather a question of educational demand and school functionalness in relation to the socio-economic development context (pp. 62-68). What would be required in this case is the development of another kind of relationship with the surrounding community, which would give a new meaning to education and make schooling seem like a normal activity in young people's life, leading 'naturally' to working life and integration into the working world. In other words, according to this viewpoint, the solution to the problem of drop-outs is to be found in better integration of the school into the community, and accordingly a more decentralized and more participative system of management. The question remains as to what extent this type of reform is compatible with the general socio-political structure of many countries.

In so far as concerns access to secondary or higher education, the objective of most developing countries is not to stimulate demand but to equitably distribute the limited number of openings at present available at these levels of education.

In those countries which have recently attained independence, but not in these countries alone, the secondary-school network is characterized by a striking imbalance in favour of the capital and a few developed regions. The first requirement, accordingly, is that the regional location of schools be readjusted and if necessary boarding schools set up to increase the number of pupils recruited. However, these measures alone will not be enough. Since it is impossible to meet the entire demand, a selection must be made as to who will be able to obtain access to the various levels. The organization of this selection is a very difficult task for the governments, and a lot is at stake. In view of the relationships existing between educational level and socio-economic status, control of admission to the successive levels of post-primary education corresponds, to a large extent, to organizing social mobility. A system of selection and criteria acceptable for all the communities must accordingly be found. Now, what is regarded as acceptable in one society is not necessarily acceptable in another. The selection of criteria will depend very largely on the political system in force and the prevailing ideology in each country. Generally speaking, the debate revolves around the question of the relative importance which can be assigned to the candidates' intellectual capacities. In a purely meritocratic society, this is the only criterion adopted, without giving any consideration to the social consequences. What can be observed, however, is that in an increasing number of countries the strict application of these criteria is qualified by the introduction of more or less strict quotas or by preferential entrance systems (by means of selective readjustment of success rates for entrance exams) worked out on a regional or social basis. Both Kenya and Cameroon have adopted this method. Other countries, whose development ideology is even more distant from the principle of meritocracy, go further by adding other criteria to that of intellectual ability (e.g., the pupil's social attitude, political involvement, and performances in manual work). This is the case in Tanzania, for example.

However, what is shown by the analyses carried out in the African countries covered by this project, is that the strict application of selection criteria in the education sector controlled by the State is countered by the more or less extensive development of parallel schools run privately or by local communities. These schools, which comprise veritable second-chance networks for those children who have been unable to be admitted to the public system, grow up naturally in those regions where the pressure of demand is greatest. Apart from certain prestige establishments reserved for the upper classes, these schools are often of mediocre quality. As such, they create a serious problem of inequality in the schooling provided, which can only increase the social handicap of children generally coming from the popular classes of urban society, which pay dearly for their aspiration to social advancement. This observation brings us back to the fundamental question raised concerning deployment of resources, as to the role that should be played by the State in educational development.

In fact, one must conclude by observing the relative inefficiency of the various measures applied by governments to reduce disparities in the field of education. This is no doubt because these disparities are too closely connected to inequalities as a whole to enable them to be greatly reduced by isolated measures concerning the education system. The dynamics of educational demand, which appears so difficult to control, does not spring up out of a social vacuum. It forms, by definition, part of a more general dynamics, namely, that of economic and social development as a whole. The very strong pressure for admission to the higher levels of education is the result of the desire to obtain greater benefits from the advantages of development, and disparities in educational demand are merely the reflection of imbalances in the distribution of these advantages. This is why a more substantial reduction of educational disparities in fact implies measures going far beyond the strictly educational framework, and which concern the very structure of the society in which the system operates.

# Social differentiation and regional disparities:

## educational development in Cameroon

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# Introduction

Regional disparities are not solely the prerogative of developing countries. None the less, they do create specific problems for them, particularly for those countries which, until recently, were colonies and whose borders are not the outcome of a long historical process but rather the result of colonial partitions. Although such disparities are, in their most obvious aspects, related to differences in the level and type of economic development, they do in fact give rise to questions which concern not only the problem of equalities *v*. inequalities but also those of national unity and political consensus.

These regional disparities have the triple feature of being easy to recognise, difficult to explain—despite appearances to the contrary—and even more difficult to remedy. There is no lack of figures to support this conclusion—they provide a measure of the facts but in no way can they explain the links between the global processes. The global nature of these disparities is in fact what makes them so difficult to analyse and so complex to explain. Remedying them raises problems of another kind. Development policies are for the most part based on intangible postulates, borrowed from abroad and applied in accordance with rigid operational models. The rigid logic of such models maintains these disparities, when it does not aggravate them, and the world economic order is such as to make this logic difficult to circumvent.

In the sphere of education, these disparities are expressed in terms of unequal levels of enrolment. More often than not such differences are explained as reflecting the various levels of educational demand in different areas. But this is more of a description of epiphenomena than an explanation. Moreover, it results in a particular form of educational policy which sets out to satisfy demand in the better-equipped areas and proposes, for the less well-equipped areas, a similar type of supply to that which created the demand elsewhere, without heed to the overall divergencies between these areas. The gaps are therefore maintained.

Regional disparities in education exist in a number of African countries. Their seriousness and therefore the need to find a remedy is sufficient to justify in-depth study. However, if this question were to be dealt with over a large number of countries, there would be a danger that the problems would be treated only superficially. This can be avoided only by restricting the scope of the enquiry. This present study focuses on the situation in Cameroon, with some references to neighbouring states, in particular Chad and Nigeria. By drawing a parallel with Cameroon's neighbours, it will be possible to vary, as it were on an experimental basis, various factors within the Cameroon situation in contexts which are different but sufficiently close to enable us, where appropriate, to test the validity of our process of analysis.

Cameroon's regional diversity has been often emphasised. Stretching from the edge of the Sahel to the border of the vast equatorial forests and from the Atlantic shore to the banks of Lake Chad, the country divides into broad natural regions—forest, savannah and mountains—inhabited by a wide variety of population. Added to these natural, geographical divisions, are wide differences in population density and economic activity. And colonisation has also left its mark by a deeper penetration in the south than in the north and by its legacy of two official languages—French and English.

These then are the various dimensions of this diversity, which has often given rise to the comment that Cameroon is in many ways a microcosm of Africa. If an analysis of the situation in Cameroon can provide an illustration of this African diversity, then it may well prove to have additional value as an explanation of regional disparities. The regional diversity of Cameroon can in fact be expressed in terms of disparities: the various regions have widely different levels of 'development'. They participate to a very different extent in the trading economy and in the political-administrative power which goes with this, and they share to a different degree in such modern amenities as health care, education and communications.

It may be argued that it is a more serious matter to be under-equipped in terms of education than in terms of roads or hospitals. A lack of medical or communication facilities can be easily remedied, provided one is willing to foot the bill. Educational disparities, however, have specific social implications. One does not expand the school system at will. Aside from the fact that the unit of time in education is by definition a generation, it must be emphasised that a population's participation in an educational system is not brought about by a mechanical response to certain stimuli. Such participation, whether it be active or hesitant, forms part of a socio-economic 'rationality'. It needs to be seen as one of the expressions of a global social context, linking the historical orientation and pattern of reproduction of the various social groups.

By this we mean that a socio-historical approach is required to explain regional disparities in education, since this alone allows one to go beyond the simple phenomenology of educational demand. Such an approach is useful first of all as a means of clarifying the notion of a region. It so happens that in Cameroon the regions are not merely administrative territorial divisions but, in most cases, coincide with socio-historical units which bear the imprint not only of their constituent social groups but also of the relationships which these have maintained in the past between themselves and with the colonisers—all of which determines their present status in the national, post-colonial context. The task then is to piece together this historical and inter-relational dynamic.

This approach is also useful in throwing light on educational phenomena *per se*. All of these, i.e. the structure of the educational system, its uneven distribution, the relationship between state and private education, the objectives to be achieved, form part of a socio-historical evolution whose various elements are in interaction. It is particularly important to assess the character and importance of the various periods in the historical development of education in order to measure their impact on the present situation.

And finally, this approach brings into focus the relationship between education and economic development, a question directly linked to that of regional disparities. The nature of education is profoundly political and ideological, since its purpose is to shape society, and it will always reflect the major thrust of society as a whole. However, this thrust has not always been the same throughout history, and it is precisely such changes in the direction of this thrust which it is important to grasp, together with their sequence, in order to understand the present situation where education is in advance of the economy—in contrast to the early colonial period, where economic development was ahead of educational development.

What is more, an analysis on a national scale means taking into account the degree of development of the national social formation, which is the result of an overall socio-historical process and which defines a new set of forces. Regional disparities, and in particular those in the educational area, which sustain one another and multiply are the sign that a form of social structuration is at work. Which explains the choice of our title: the uneven development of education in the different regions in Cameroon reveals the existence of processes of social differentiation affecting the national formation. The main feature of such processes is the gradual creation—or the beginnings of the reproduction—of a national 'bourgeoisie' based on regional disparities—rural *v.* urban and manual *v.* intellectual—a bourgeoisie whose position derives from its proximity to the machinery of State power at the different regional levels. The national pattern of educational inequalities corresponds, for the most part, to inter- and intra-regional inequalities with respect to participation in the political-economic power and wealth of the country. For its part, the educational system contributes to the creation of these inequalities, but it is not the primary cause. It reveals their nature and their evolution. This is what we shall attempt to investigate in this study.

Once we have analysed the processes which have produced the disparities—on the basis of the socio-economic history of the colonial period and the characteristics of the different social groups—and the regional socio-economic environment in which they flourish at present, we will proceed to draw up a detailed, factual inventory of these educational disparities and examine them in relation to their social and global aspects. We shall then attempt to define the nature and importance of the obstacles to their being remedied, which will provide us with the necessary elements for an overall assessment of the situation.

# I. The historical dimension and regional context of the disparities

Cameroon's present borders are the result of successive or simultaneous conquests by three European powers—Germany, Great Britain and France. The Germans were finally driven out by the French and British armies after thirty years' control of the area, during which time they had begun to set up a German-language system of education. As from 1916 there were two educational systems, one based on the British model in the territory known as West Cameroon and the other, based on the French model, in East Cameroon. When it became independent in 1960, the Republic of Cameroon inherited these two systems and allowed them to co-exist until 1972. Harmonisation of the two systems, begun in 1963, has been speeded up since the adoption of a policy of centralisation and bilingualism. None the less, there are still two languages of instruction, i.e. French and English, each of which has remained predominant in its territory of origin.

Although Cameroon was already well in advance of other African ex-colonies—at least in the French zone—it has considerably extended school enrolment since independence. This expansion has not been due solely to the freeing of educational demand during the years 1958-60; it is also the fruit of a concerted policy which itself was the product of a way of thinking during the period when it was thought that education was an essential tool of economic and social development (or at least that a high level of enrolment could only be an asset) and the cornerstone of national construction.

As a result, the primary-school population was multiplied 2.5 times between 1960 and 1973. Over the same period, the numbers in secondary education (general, technical and colleges of education) increased 6.5 times and the number of *bacheliers* was multiplied by 10. However, this spectacular growth should not be allowed to conceal two facts:

1. The fundamental inequality which is linked to the spread of formal education in any country, but more especially in those where the trend towards mass education is a recent one. In Cameroon the majority of adults are and will remain illiterate, since education is aimed primarily at the younger

generation; and then again, the enrolment of all children of school age is still a remote goal;[1] lastly, boys are given precedence over girls. For the school year 1971/72 there was a ratio of 158 children per 1,000 inhabitants attending primary school.[2] For the same year, girls represented only 43 per cent of the primary-school population, 29.7 per cent of the secondary-school population and 9 per cent of those enrolled in higher education. Added to these factors of inequality relating to age and sex is that created by the hyper-selectivity of a system whose fundamental élitist character will need to be analysed: we have calculated that between 1970 and 1973, for every 1,000 children starting their first primary grade, 173 obtained their CEPE, 90 continued on to the secondary level, and less than 40 obtained their BEPC; 29 carried on into the second grade and 11 obtained their *baccalauréat*.

2. The uneven spread of education in the various regions (see Map 1).

As J. Bugnicourt points out,[3] the concept of educational lag is an ambiguous one. A region's educational lag may imply a preservation of indigenous cultures and educational systems—no matter whether these are institutionalised or based on written texts—which the sociologist will consider as positive. But in the majority of cases, educational lag implies under-development, in other words the set of processes linking poverty, domination and exploitation. This is the case in central Africa: the most backward regions from an educational point of view are those where one encounters those societies which have been the most successful in preserving their liberty to transmit their social and cultural heritage. These are also regions where agriculture is the most vulnerable, where the constraints of the central authority weigh most heavily and where the manpower and money drained off by the latter are greatest in proportion to the advantages received in return.

Regional inequalities in the educational area thus go hand in hand with inequalities in the areas of welfare and health care, wealth and agricultural and industrial produtive capacity and, of course, power.[4] Concrete evidence of this is shown in Table 1, which gives comparative figures for Cameroon's regions. Those regions which are most backward in terms of education, i.e. the North, the East and West Cameroon, are equally backward in other respects. In the case of the North, for example, its lot is to have the lowest school enrolment, the lowest degree of urbanisation, an insignificant number of businesses, the lowest

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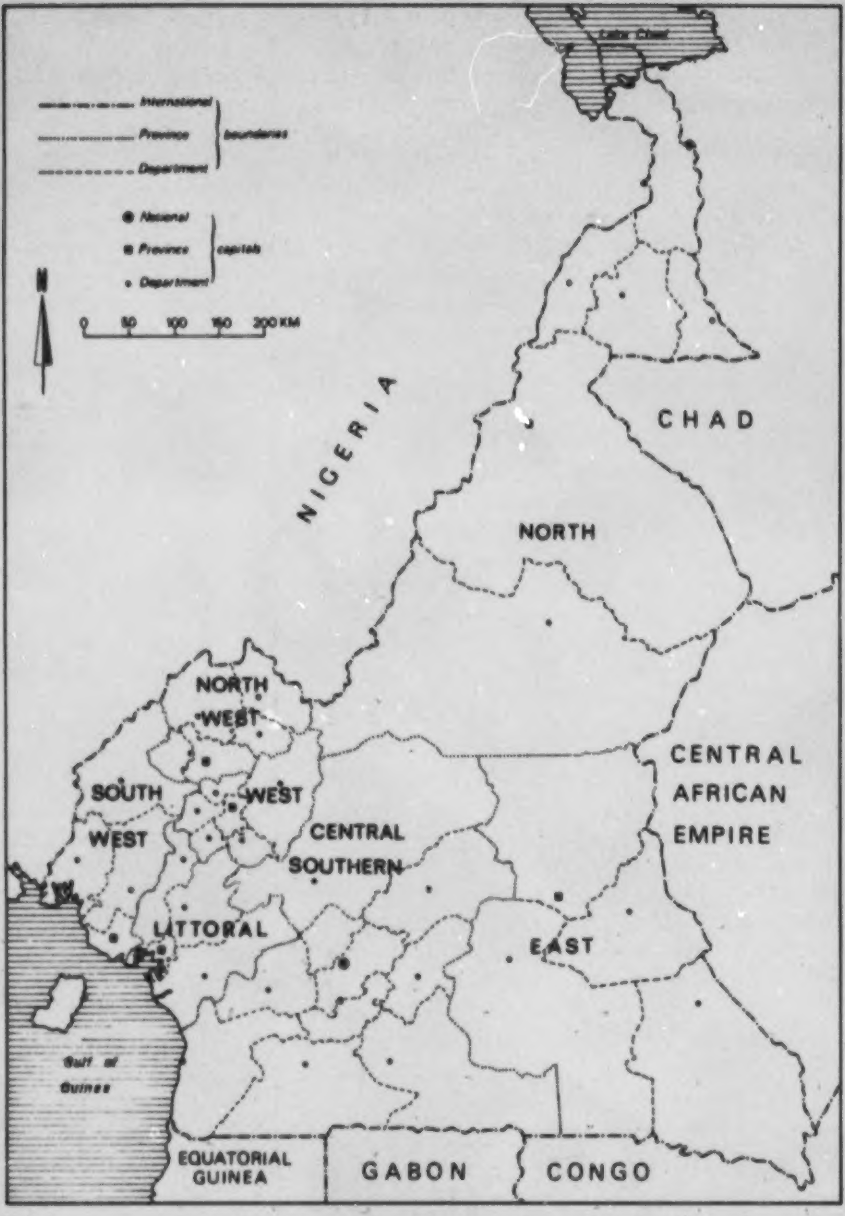
1. In 1976 Nigeria began an ambitious programme of universal primary education (UPE).
2. Enrolment amongst the school-age population, i.e. 6-13 years olds, is estimated at around 300 per 1000.
3. J. Bugnicourt in *Disparités scolaires en Afrique*.
4. Education will not in itself guarantee a position in the politico-administrative structure, but it is essential.


Lake Chad
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Province
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boundaries
National
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NIGERIA
CHAD
NORTH
NORTH WEST
SOUTH WEST
WEST
CENTRAL SOUTHERN
LITTORAL
EAST
CENTRAL AFRICAN EMPIRE
Gulf of Guinea
EQUATORIAL GUINEA
GABON
CONGO

MAP 1. *Cameroon: administrative regions.*

TABLE 1. Comparison of regional characteristics in Cameroon, 1970

| Regions | West Cameroon | Central Southern | East | Coastal | North | West | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Area (km$^2$) | 42 200 | 116 180 | 108 990 | 20 220 | 163 520 | 14 140 | 465 250 |
| Population (1971-72) | 314 826 | 1 293 368 | 302 947 | 747 956 | 1 590 248 | 878 252 | 6 118 097 |
| Pop. density (inh./km$^2$) | 31 | 11 | 3 | 37 | 10 | 62 | 13 |
| Degree of urbanisation (%) | 14 | 22 | 13 | 58 | 10 | 20 | 21 |
| School enrolment prim. (71/72) | 139 | 209 | 175 | 189 | 58 | 214 | 158 |
| School enrolment gen. sec. (68/69) | 5 | 15 | 5 | 11 | 1 | 19 | 8.5 |
| No. of businesses[1] | 9 | 47 | 1 | 95 | 5 | 3 | 160 |
| Inhabitants per doctor | 61 700 | 15 000 | 26 000 | 10 400 | 61 000 | 28 000 | 33 800 |
| Inhabitants per post office | 35 200 | 25 800 | 20 000 | 29 600 | 93 700 | 56 700 | 39 000 |
| Rural *per capita* income (F.CFA) 68 | — | 27 000 | 10 800 | 34 000 | 4 100 | 26 000 | |
| Asphalt roads, km/10.000 km$^2$ | 2.5 | 2 | 0 | 13 | 1.6 | 6.4 | 2.1 |

1. Listed in the Register of Companies at 31.12.1970.
SOURCE A. Valette, op. cit., 25.

density of doctors[1] (together with West Cameroon) and post-offices, the lowest ratio of asphalt roads (together with the East) and lastly, the smallest rural *per capita* income. On the other hand, the Central-Southern region and the West-Coast axis—in other words, the south-west territory—account for two-thirds of the asphalt roads, three-quarters of the installed electrical capacity, 75 per cent of the hospital beds, 80 per cent post-office box numbers, 90 per cent of the business undertakings, and 95 per cent of the candidates for the *baccalauréat*. It is more easy to understand these disparities when one realises that the hub of this south-western area is the town of Douala, which alone accounts for 40 per cent of the industrial undertakings and 60 per cent of the commercial undertakings with an annual turnover in excess of 5bn. FCFA, 60 per cent of the staff of the 40 largest companies and 75 per cent of the jobs scheduled in the Third Plan (1971-76). The present boundaries of this 'developed' south-western zone correspond exactly with those of what the Germans in 1914 termed the 'useful Cameroon'.

We do not wish to suggest that there is a direct relation of cause and effect between educational development and economic development. For the moment, we wish to do no more than point out the co-existence of these two trends within the broad regional divisions of Cameroon. A similar pattern is true for Chad and Nigeria. In these two countries the areas of highest school density (in the south-west in both cases) are also the areas with the highest concentration of industrial and commercial wealth and correspond to the 'useful zones' of the early colonial era.

The reasons for regional educational disparities should not therefore be sought solely in the differential characteristics of the educational system—this would be to mistake the effect for the cause. Thus, for example, the tendency for highly qualified teachers to be concentrated in towns within the more-advanced

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[1] In 1971, at the end of Second Five-Year Plan, the availability of regional health facilities in Cameroon was as follows:

| Region | Number of hospital beds | | Total | No. of inh. per bed |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Public sector | Private sector | | |
| North | 1561 | 497 | 2 058 | 710 |
| East | 618 | 236 | 845 | 350 |
| W. Cameroon | 1 259 | 982 | 2 241 | 540 |
| Central-Southern | 2 438 | 1 425 | 3 863 | 300 |
| West | 1 268 | 2 201 | 3 469 | 300 |
| Littoral | 1 523 | 835 | 2 358 | 250 |
| Total | 8 667 | 6 176 | 12 843 | 408 |

SOURCE J.L. Morinière, in *L'organisation de l'espace au Cameroun*.

zones is only a reflection of these zones' overall progress. One has therefore to find an overall explanation for these overall disparities, and to do so by attempting to situate them within the context of a socio-historical trend. This trend needs to be split up into its two main elements, i.e. firstly, the economic, political and ideological relationship which existed between the African societies and the colonial powers and, secondly, the socio-regional framework within which these relationships were at work or which they helped to shape. This will be the aim of this first section.

## A. The historical processes

There is no denying the fact that European colonisation in Central Africa has played a major role in creating disparities. However, it should be noted that the current evaluation of these disparities makes direct reference to what in fact was introduced by colonisation, i.e. the school, the town, medical care, a communications infrastructure, cash crops, industries, etc. which is in a way a statement of the obvious. Aside from the obvious, confining one's attention to the actions of Europeans would merely mean tracing a linear process in which the African societies exercised no initiative and which followed a path dictated only by economic imperatives. This again would be lending support to an economic interpretation of history. In fact, the historical process producing these disparities is the outcome of the continuing interaction between European colonisation and local societies. This interaction occurred in every area, but the importance of each has varied at different periods and, in our view, the main feature in this changing pattern of interaction was the gradual replacement of the economic determinants, which had been preponderant during the early colonial period, by political and ideological determinants. The education system, as both a thinking and an independent agency, has contributed to this evolution. Despite its impressive growth, its present pattern of distribution still bears the mark of the period when economic relationship dominated the other forms of social relationship. This is due to its hierarchical structure, which produces inequalities, to its role as state apparatus, which regards these inequalities as functional, and lastly, to the influence of the socio-regional context, as will be seen later.

The introduction of schools by the colonial powers formed part of a broad programme—economic, political and ideological—designed to provide them with overall control. The societies marked by colonialism have had to react in every sector of their social life, and the relationship which they have had with the school system is likewise part of an overall process of production and reproduction. This relationship with the school—as with other colonial structures—has not been the same for all the societies concerned. One can suggest two major reasons for this. The first of these can be expressed as follows: although the operation of colonisation was certainly an all-embracing one, it was nevertheless *phased in terms of space and time* and did not have the same radical character for every group. The second reason has to do with the nature of the societies concerned, i.e. they were neither similar nor impervious to change. On the one hand, the coloniser intervened at *different stages in their historical evolution* and, depending on the situation, he either arrested or accelerated various processes within the internal or external relationships of these societies. On the other hand, different types of social and political structures were already in existence and did not have the same degree of *compatibility—or incompatibility*—with the new structures which the Europeans wished to introduce. It was the combination of these three factors, i.e. the phased intervention of the white overlords, the historical evolution of each group and the different types of socio-political organisation, which has produced such widely differing responses from the societies brought into contact with Europe's colonial powers. It is however true that the margin for manœuvre—particularly during the initial colonial period—was narrow and in most cases amounted to the following alternative: submission or death. The Europeans' success was due to their superior weapons and military organisation. The ideology of white power, the principal factor in the process of colonial feudalisation, had as its historical and practical basis the machine-gun.

What are the societies we refer to? Today, the concept of an ethnic group has less and less of an ethnological connotation in so far as it no longer refers solely to a single cultural dimension as its dominant and constant feature. It also connotes a political space, one or more modes of production, social relationships of a specific type with their consequent stratifications, a degree of participation within regional relationships, and a past and present history. The concept of an ethnic group, as a complex and mobile reality involved in events, has to be conceived of in an historical and changing perspective. The ethnic groups to which one tends to refer nowadays are, for the most part, a result of colonial activity, particularly in the area of taxonomy. The Europeans arriving in Africa were quick to notice the differences between the groups encountered, i.e. language, dress, habitat, the relationships between men and women, diet, beliefs, etc. In order to establish a territorial and ideological basis for their power, they were obliged to implement two contradictory policies: firstly, to identify, name and classify the various groups and then to confine them to a fixed abode and group them into administrative areas, which put a stop to their earlier migrations and gave rise to specialisation by encouraging them to adopt certain specific forms of economic activity; secondly, to undermine the political and religious foundations of these groups in order 'to make a clean sweep of the past'. The groups which had to bear the brunt of this double policy were those living in the zones under direct colonial rule, i.e. the southern regions of Cameroon, Chad and, to a certain extent, Southern Nigeria. In the zones under indirect rule, Islam has proved an effective barrier to the penetration of European ideology, protecting both Moslems and non-Moslems; none the less, the colonial system of classification has been applied, either as an adaptation of, or as an addition to, that of the preceding colonisers, as in the case of the Fulani in Cameroon and Nigeria.

### *1. The different periods*

Let us look now at the different stages in this process of interaction:

*(a). The pre-colonial period.* The present-day disparities in Cameroon follow a south-north or coast-interior pattern. This pattern is the outcome of two historical currents, which became separate during the pre-colonial period as a result of contact with Europe.

The north-east zone of Cameroon, generally less advanced than the rest of the country, as the figures in Table 1 show, has always been last on the list of the colonisers' priorities in terms of both space and time. As with most African countries with access to the sea, initial contact with the Europeans was along the coast. The Portuguese landed on the estuary of the Wouri river as early as 1492 and the coastal region of Cameroon was thus exposed to European influence more than four centuries before the savannah region—it was not until the beginning of the twentieth century that the German troops penetrated into this area after covering a distance of more than 1,000 km. From the sixteenth century onwards the coastal societies—in particular the Duala—became directly involved in commerce with white traders from various countries. They acted as intermediaries between the populations of the interior (Basa, Bamileke, Bulu) and the Europeans for slave-trading in all its forms. During this same period, the history of the societies in the north followed a purely African pattern, influenced by their ties with the Islamic empires. From the point of view of trade, they were linked to the long-distance routes crossing the Sahara and the western savannah. The Hausa traders were unsuccessful in their attempts to establish a lasting trading relationship with the forest region to the south. By the beginning of the nineteenth century this southern region was already fully committed to the slave trade and, as a result, to a foreign mercantile economy: all the channels of trade now led to the sea. Gradually trading posts were set up along the coast and treaties of friendship concluded with the local chieftains. The missionaries arrived close on the heels of the traders and began to set up schools, dispensaries and places of worship. Pastor J. Merrick, the son of a negro slave freed in Jamaica, in 1844 founded the first school in Cameroon at Bimbia. The second was founded the following year at Douala.

*(b). The German period (1884-1914).* When the Germans landed in 1884 and set out to conquer the territory, the system of trade and the missionary activity had already had a profound impact on the coastal tribes. The neighbouring populations of the interior were involved in the slave trade but as yet had been little influenced by missionary activity, whereas the northern savannah tribes continued to form a warring but independent group united by the *Jihad* of the Fulani. The Germans, by subordinating all their operations—territorial conquest, system of administration and education—to their development objectives, tended to perpetuate and strengthen this north-south division.

Although it was a relatively easy matter to establish authority over the coastal populations, it proved very difficult to penetrate the interior owing to the nature of the terrain, i.e. forest, and the hostility of local groups. The Germans were forced to crush the Bakweri, Basa, Bakoko and Bulu societies at the cost of heavy losses on the African side. Once beyond the forest, the conquest of the north was to prove even more difficult because of its remoteness and the military organisation of some of the tribes. It took all of ten years to destroy the Fulani strongholds. By 1902 the Germans were in control of the north, at least theoretically since they had not yet penetrated the Mandara mountains and most of the non-Islamic societies were still unsubdued.

Whilst the armies continued their advance into the interior, the new occupying power began to exploit the coastal region with the overall objective—here as elsewhere—'of constructing facilities at the lowest possible cost in order to "maximize" a development which is intended to benefit the mother country and its merchants'.[1] After an initial period, during which the traders were allowed a free hand—under military protection—the administration took over control. In order to convey products from the interior to the coast vast infrastructures were built, i.e. railroads and highways terminating at the port of Douala. Large plantations of heveas and oil palms were laid out. Thus there grew up within a 200-km radius of Douala the so-called 'useful Cameroon'—an area devoted to trade, with a modern system of transport and a whole network of urban centres. Since the colony had to cost the mother country a minimum—otherwise Bismarck would never have been able to justify the German colonial adventure to his parliament—the bulk of these major construction programmes were financed from the colony's budget. The 'Cameroonians' were made to contribute heavily towards this, not only via a multiplicity of taxes and levies, but also by providing porterage and various kinds of forced labour to build the highways and railroads. In the forest zone 'to facilitate the tasks of collecting taxes, recruiting porters, collecting products and policing the area, the Germans grouped the populations along the main caravan routes'.[2] Those living on the fertile slopes of Mount Cameroon were expropriated and their land allocated to the European planters. Since the supply of local manpower soon proved insufficient, the Bamileke country gradually came to be used as a source of labour. The savannah was not developed and the Northern Region was simply left under military jurisdiction.

Up until 1907 the Germans regarded education as a secondary matter; their military strength was considered as sufficient justification for their presence. The 'white man's burden'—the task of civilising the country[3]—was left mainly in the hands of the missionaries, whose schools were sufficient to supply the local agents required for the public administration and private organisations and whose private ideological activities lent support to the military action in subjugating the local groups. As a result, there was a remarkable expansion in private education, particularly amongst the Duala—in the colony's capital—and amongst the coastal societies, and subsequently amongst the Basa, Bulu and Beti in the Yaoundé region. By 1913 there were 631 primary mission schools concentrated in the south, with a total of 43,500 pupils. State education started only in 1907, when the partial failure of the missionary schools in spreading the German language became obvious and when a growing need arose for local European-trained personnel. However, there was much leeway to be made up and by 1913 there were only 833 pupils in goverment schools, i.e. Douala 362, Victoria 257, Yaoundé 160 and Garoua 54.[1] The only school in the North was the one at Garoua, run by two African assistants.

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[1] In Morinière, op. cit., p. 97.

[2] J. Weber, *Types de surproduits et formes d'accumulation: la province cacayoère du Centre-Sud Camerounais*, p. 71.

[3] Here too, the German government followed a policy of minimum cost.

Thus, during the thirty years of German rule, the populations in the south-western region were subjected to an extraordinary number of constraints in every area: firstly military, secondly economic and finally, politico-administrative and ideological. The school served as an instrument for indoctrination by helping to change outlooks and systems of needs. The introduction of money into the system of barter, coupled with the setting-up of schools, was instrumental in creating new wants, and embryonic in the missionary activity was the philosophy of development. Apart from the somewhat symbolic school in Garoua, none of this was happening in the North—no major construction projects, no plantations, no missions. Moreover, the difference between the two zones was further accentuated by the type of administrative activity. In the south-west the chief towns, originally military strongholds, were gradually transformed into administrative centres equipped with schools, post-offices, etc., involved in varying degrees in trade and commerce and becoming more like towns. In the North the Germans, once they had subdued the Fulani, set up military zones and used members of the vanquished tribes to administer the area: 'residents' were assigned to the Sultan's courts, which served to strengthen the position of most of the pre-colonial Moslem chieftains and in fact guaranteed their ascendancy over the non-Moslem groups, which had been considerably shaken by a century of guerilla conflict. By so doing, the Germans set up a system of Indirect Rule in the Northern region similar to the system the English were creating in the neighbouring country of Nigeria. It could be said that there were two types of German colonisation in Cameroon, both linked however to the same overall economic objective. Developing the South and turning it into a profitable operation required the radical measures described above. The policy of lowest possible cost justified no more than a minimal development of state education in the South and the absence of projects in the North. Cameroon today still bears the marks of this initial period of colonisation and the extent of the disparities between the south-west coastal zone and the north-west has remained unchanged ever since 1914, the year when the French and British armies decided to put an end to German ascendancy in this area. The underlying reasons for this state of affairs are complex. By and large, it can be said that the same economic logic was still at work, i.e. a spatial strategy of profit, but that another logic, political and ideological this time, had begun to assume importance, although the end-result was to be the same, i.e. a socio-economic differentiation along the lines of the earlier model.

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[1] Source: R. Santerre, in *L'école au Cameroun sous souveraineté allemande*.

*(c). British Cameroons (1914-1945).* At the end of the War the allies divided up the German colony, with England being given the entire border section adjoining Nigeria. West Cameroon, which was attached administratively to Nigeria, was more or less neglected on account of its remoteness from the main centres of the British colony. Indirect Rule was set up systematically, following a detailed census of the major clans, although in the northern area some groups escaped all administrative authority; the vast plantations in the south were returned to their German owners; some improvements were made to the ports of Victoria and Tiko, but little was done to set up urban centres, and medical care and education were left to the missionaries. As a result, the British Cameroons were to fall even further behind the southern region of the French Cameroons.

*(d). French Cameroons (1914-1945).* The French applied the same development policy as the Germans, with the exception of the fact that the mother country was more generous with its supply of funds, in particular for harbour and roadworks and social services. The port of Douala grew in size and importance, the rail system was improved, and Douala was linked with Yaoundé and with the system of waterways to the east. In 1913 there were 600 kilometres of roads suitable for motor vehicles; by 1945 this figure had risen to 6,000 km. Finally, medical facilities were considerably improved and hospitals built at Douala, Yaoundé, Ebolowa and Dschang. However, most of this investment was concentrated in 'useful Cameroon', where development was continued and extended to within a radius of 300 km. from Douala: timber, cocoa, oil palms and coffee became the principal crops; the Bamileke country was no longer merely a source of manpower but started to become the granary for the Mungo valley and the coast; the towns expanded and the division of the territory between the various missions was finalised.

Although the same type of colonial exploitation continued after the departure of the Germans, several new elements appeared which helped somewhat to modify the scheme of things. The first was that the French were profoundly anxious to justify their presence and achieve a 'moral conquest' of the communities within the territory; the second was an important change in the ideological structures of certain local groups, which promoted a desire for religious conversion and education. The missions still bore the brunt of the educational work, but under very strict control with regard to the teaching of the French language and culture. The French in fact sought to emphasise education, because they felt it would provide a solid base for their presence following the departure of the Germans and, what is more, the League of Nations' mandate contained certain stipulations regarding the outside world. However, education remained a heavy financial burden and a two-edged weapon. The wisest course was therefore to rely on the missionary structure and do no more than lay the foundations for a subsequent development of mass education. The result was that the spread of education was slow, due to the lack of resources and competent personnel, but sure because of the popular demand. Once again, economic development preceded educational development since the demand arose only in those areas where the economic value of education was apparent in the form of job opportunities: primarily those areas which were being developed.

The Northern region was to remain on the fringe of all this. The road network was extended, but the north-south highway was still impassable during the rainy season. The growing of groundnuts was given some timid encouragement, basically as a 'way of producing money', but the prices were unfavourable and it was considered that there was no future for cotton. In certain districts, such as Mokolo, taxes were still being paid in kind as late as 1940. Missionary activity was not authorised in any region where the main political, commercial, religious and cultural centres were the capitals of the Moslem chieftains, whose authority had been confirmed by the French following the departure of the Germans. The only schools were therefore state-run... and rare: in addition to Garoua, 11 schools were set up which had about 600 pupils in 1945, as against an enrolment of more than 100,000 in the south-west zone.

What is more, the French set up a highly centralised administrative system. By and large, they adopted the Germans' administrative units and centres. These units were progressively subdivided: the nine original districts were split into seventeen administrative regions which correspond more or less to today's departments. Here again, the north-south differentiation is apparent: in the North, the capitals of the 'regions' were ( with the exception of Mokolo ) the pre-colonial Moslem political centres, which gave them additional prestige.[1] In the South, however, the location of such capitals was based solely on the geographic or commercial position of the towns developed by the Germans.

*(e). Cameroon from 1945 to Independence (1960).* This period was marked above all by a change in the political and ideological scene, rather than by economic changes, to the extent that politico-ideological relationships began to dominate social relationships as a whole. After the Second World War relations between colonies and mother countries underwent a profound change: the colonial powers came out of this war considerably weakened, whereas in the colonies a desire for a different status began to take root. This was followed by a period of great political ferment amongst both the Europeans and the Africans, and the debate on the question of sharing power with the natives and the manner in which this should be achieved often took on a dramatic form.

In the case of Cameroon, there was not only the Brazzaville Conference (1944) on the French side, but above all the U.N., which imposed on the two European powers a system of trusteeship with independence as a clearly defined objective. One outcome of this situation was the educational development of the territory following the introduction of mass education, secondary education and the diversification of vocational education. It was at this stage that educational development began to overtake economic development in the sense that the job market was no longer able to absorb the number of school-leavers. In the case of the Cameroonians, the most obvious result of this educational expansion was the emergence of an anti-colonial nationalism, the creation of independence parties and finally, the Basa revolt encouraged by the U.P.C.

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[1] The French were very quick to realise the existence of this Moslem *v.* pagan opposition but, for various reasons, nothing was ever done to change the boundaries of the smallest administrative divisions (i.e. the 'cantons') which serve to maintain Moslem ascendancy over the pagans.

This was also the major period of development[1] for both East and West Cameroon, which was to result in real progress in many areas—if not in all the regions—and also lead to a much closer integration and dependence upon the international system of trade: capitalist exploitation was to increase with development. This development was geared to criteria of cost-effectiveness, i.e. investment was allocated to the various regions in relation to their estimated profitability, and the gap between North and South was widened as a result. Although a permanent highway was built in the Northern region in 1950, linking it with the South, and the planting of cotton and a programme of agricultural improvement begun in 1952 plus, at long last, an investment in schools, the relations between Moslems and pagans were to remain unchanged; and in the south-western zone the projects and improvements were on a much larger scale, particularly in the area of urban and educational development and in the economic and social structures.

### *2. The interaction at work*

The dominant feature of colonial rule in Cameroon had been the selective nature of development, in which administrative structures and education played a subordinate role. Since, in the eyes of the Europeans, economic objectives remained paramount, one can consider that it was through pressure from the local populations that the predominance of these objectives was challenged by the need to create a political structure which would no longer be based on military force alone, but which would be required to justify its own existence. In this situation, education became both the end-product and the instrument for modifying the relationships between the colonial masters and their subjects. It became the point at which, and from which, conflicts both crystallised and developed. The paradox is that it was from the moment when education was raised from its status as a supplier of recruits for minor posts to that of an agency for legitimising the colonial system, that this very legitimacy was called into question. In order to strengthen its legitimacy, the colonial power was forced to develop education, both horizontally and vertically, in those areas where the demand was making itself felt, i.e. the development zones, and the logic inherent in any system of education did not fail to operate: from a desire to possess all the European's knowledge the next step was a demand to possess all the European's power.

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[1] With the FIDES plans (*Fonds d'investissements pour le développement économique et social*) for French-speaking Cameroun.

However, although it is possible to trace this as an overall process, we have already mentioned (cf. p. 31) the existence of various factors which contributed to a differentiation in the evolution of the various groups. It is these specific trends which we now have to examine.

In the southern zones, the action of the authorities, i.e. the efforts to classify and relocate societies, intensified ethnical individuality along artificial lines by destroying the entire pre-colonial political and ideological structure.[1] These groups, their resistance crushed, their political structure destroyed, integrated within an economic system geared to the mother country, were completely subjugated by the ideology of the white man's power. The schools and in particular the missions were remarkably successful—enormous numbers were converted to Christianity in South Cameroon during the 1920s. The initial contradiction continued to develop, and in a paradoxical manner. The nationalist, anti-colonial movement originated in these 'ethnic groups', which had been stripped of their own culture, taking as its point of reference the pre-colonial cultural patterns, yet without any trace of Messianism (in Cameroon). It was the same ethnic groups which, when they rose to power after independence, spearheaded the struggle against tribalism in the name of national unity and applied the same policy of cultural destruction as their former masters amongst those tribes which had been most successful in preserving their pre-colonial roots.

In South Cameroon the Duala, already profoundly marked by their secular contacts with Europe, were the first to lose their cultural cohesion[2] by submitting to progressive political decapitation at the hands of the Germans and by gradually absorbing the western habits of acquiring wealth, skills and power. They were thus the first group to become politically active. The Basa and the Bulu proved much more recalcitrant in the face of the political and cultural pressure from the whites. Their westernisation, however radical it later became, was delayed and occurred only in a surreptitious way through their somewhat circuitous integration within the trading system: the wage-earning ethos introduced by the system of porterage and in the plantations had a lot to do with this. What is more, 'cocoa was not taxed. When the Germans left Cameroon in 1916, the plantations which they left behind were pillaged by people who planted somewhat in any fashion (in Bulu country). To the north of Yaoundé (Beti country) cocoa was also introduced without restriction from the Basa country (in the Edea-Eseka region)'.[3] Later on, the Basa country was to be the birthplace of the U.P.C. movement (*Union des Populations du Cameroun.)*

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[1] South Cameroon had been for a long time inhabited by migratory groups; the groups which the whites found there were finally settled only between the 16th and 19th centuries.

[2] Cf. V.T. Le Vine, *The Cameroons from mandate to independence*.

[3] J. Weber, op. cit., p. 73.

Amongst the southern societies the Bamileke succeeded in maintaining their pre-colonial political structures the longest, and the tragic form which their destruction took was evidence of the extent to which these were ingrained. The persistence of these structures, coupled with the gradual but easy insertion of the Bamileke into the economic system and the urban environment, was no doubt due to the fact that the Bamileke ideology with regard to personal advancement (via wealth, knowledge etc.) was the one most compatible with western ideology. This ideology still exists. In contrast to the Basa rebellion, with its strong anti-colonial character, the Bamileke rebellion was above all the product of contradictions within their social system, contradictions which had been sharpened by population pressures and the extension of trading activities.

In the northern regions ethnic nationalism had been inflamed in quite a different manner and before the arrival of the whites. In the case of the Moslem groups, Islam provided the leaven. It led—in some cases—to wars of conquest and the creation of empires whose economy was based on pillage and slave labour. The most recent of these empires, that of Sokoto, built up by the Fulani, had set out to destroy—rather than convert—the pagan ethnic living within its territory or on its borders. These non-Moslem groups used various strategies to resist this pressure from the Fulani; the effect of these strategies however—particularly in the western area, i.e. Cameroonian Adamawa—was to exhaust the energies of these tribes in guerilla warfare and strengthen tribal rivalries. Some groups even formed resistance groups in the mountains and created veritable economies.[1] As mentioned earlier, the English and French colonisers confirmed the Fulani's control over the area, since their political structures were in fact completely compatible. Although they had been conquered by the whites, the Fulani succeeded in obtaining *de facto* recognition of their independence with regard to their internal ideological and social relationships. Moreover, since the military situation was frozen, the antagonism between Moslems and non-Moslems could find expression only on a political and ideological plane and within the conditions imposed by the colonial administration. In North Cameroon this initially resulted in a total opposition on the part of the pagan groups to all the measures undertaken by the colonial government, since these were applied via the Fulani. Subsequently, the evolution of each social formation followed a separate path, but always conditioned by a specific attitude towards the dominant tribe, e.g. uncompromising resistance amongst the mountain societies and a complete acceptance amongst others such as the Mundang (not only in Cameroon but also in Chad), but always with an eye to outmanoeuvring the Fulbe, using the means supplied by the whites and on the stage which they had created. On the other hand, the Fulbe were able to make the most of their position as town-dwellers and their proximity to the administration. There grew up within their ranks a modern element who, without abandoning their traditional ties, adapted to the economic system, followed the paths of western knowledge and set out on the road to the new power.

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[1] Cf. J.-Y. Martin, *Les Matakam du Cameroun*.

This brief survey of the interaction between the Europeans and the African communities in Cameroon enables us to indentify basic structures of a spatial, historic, sociological and economic kind, each with its own dynamic. It also enables us to recognise within these structures the various social behaviour patterns which provide the context as well as an explanation for them. This is what one can term the regional context of the disparities.

## B. The regional context

The concept of a region has many and often conflicting meanings, because its content depends primarily on one's viewpoint, i.e. whether this is geographic, politico-administrative, economic or sociological. Since our prime concern is with educational disparities this regional concept needs to be given the content most appropriate to this problem. Our objective is therefore to look not for an all-embracing concept but for one which is meaningful—one which would enable the problem of disparities to be expressed in the most pertinent terms, i.e. which would provide a clearer explanation of their origin and growth. We shall therefore be emphasising the socio-historic dimension.

The regional concept which we have been using so far (page 28) is the one which corresponds to geographico-administrative divisions. These have primarily a descriptive value, since they are used as the basis for various statistical data, such as educational statistics which are broken down into these geographical units. They therefore enable comparisons to be made between regions on the basis of quantitative data, thereby making it possible to measure these disparities but not to explain their mechanisms. The existence of these spatio-regional divisions implies their nature as sub-units and, by the same token, the existence of an aggregate entity which can be analysed at national level. These spatial units have been created as a framework for politico-administrative activity. They are the levels through which the state acts and the basis for regional planning. However great the degree of decentralisation, the existence of the state cannot be ignored, particularly where educational policy is concerned.

This being the case, these units can have no other unity than that which is in fact conferred upon them by the administration. Where the problem of educational disparities is concerned, it is not just the relationship between the state and the regions which needs to be taken into account but also the relationship between the region and its constituent elements—a relationship which is often ignored by planners. From a sociological viewpoint, the existence of a region is not something conferred upon it by the state but primarily the *structure of the relations* between the different actors or social systems comprising it, irrespective of whether the state has taken this structure into account or not. The social systems may be completely dissimilar; what is essential for a region to exist is that they should be in *interaction* (politically, economically, ideologically, etc.). The structure of these relations is the product of history and, in the case of the countries which concern us here, of pre-colonial and subsequent colonial history.

The sociologist therefore may consider the region as a well-defined socio-historic complex—or unit—occupying a certain geographical area. What is determinant is the notion of integrated heterogeneity—or relative homogeneity. This implies the existence of an integrating—or focal—element, a point of convergence for the social relationships linked to natural conditions and historical events, which may be a system of production, a social group or a town. Whatever viewpoint one adopts, one cannot discard the others; and a region is always the combination of several dimensions, i.e. natural, historical, economic and political. We have opted for the socio-historical dimension because it enables us to integrate the others. A component of any social system is its relation to natural conditions, and the state of these relations is conditioned by history and by internal and external politico-economic determinants. In the case of former colonies it is important to assess the part played by different periods of history in the shaping of regions as we see them today. In particular—as pointed out earlier—one has to identify the pre-colonial and colonial components.

One often hears it said that the pre-colonial social movements were disrupted during the colonial period only to reappear after independence. Such a statement needs qualifying. It would for example be difficult to find influences today which can be traced back to the former Kanem-Bornou empire in Central Africa, despite the fact that in Chad an administrative unit bears the name Kanem and in Nigeria a State is called Bornu. The most important task is to discover what was more or less overshadowed by the colonial conquest and which is regaining importance today, such as the distinct Arab-Islamic influence in the 'Chad of the Sultans' or the focal role (positive or negative) of the Fulani in North Cameroon. The pre-colonial relations must also include those which had existed between Africa and Europe ever since the fifteenth century, and no one needs reminding of the importance of commercial relations (the slave trade in all its forms) and ideological relations (missions and schools) in the coastal zones.

One must also bear in mind the part played by the historical factors of the colonial period in shaping today's regions and the typical measures which were applied in the colonial 'regions' during this period, and in particular the type of government, i.e. Direct Rule—Indirect Rule, economic policy. Thus it would appear for instance that the system of Indirect Rule functioned best in those regions which had had the least contact with Europe during the pre-colonial period. In other words, it was those socio-political entities whose own indigenous evolution had been the least affected up to the time of the colonial conquest which were subsequently subjected to intervention of the least radical kind or, to put it another way, that which was the most respectful of local society.

A region is therefore at the same time a geographical area, a socio-economic unit and a history.

### *1. The regions of Cameroon*[1]

In Cameroon the geographico-administrative divisions, with which we are already familiar, can, with very little rearrangement, be made to correspond fairly closely with the kind of 'region' which have just described. In other words, most of the 'provinces' of Cameroon constitute well-defined socio-historic units.[2] Their relatively integrated character has its basis in history and geography. The urban pattern inherited from the colonial period has been grafted onto these units, i.e. each region or province now has one or more towns of major or secondary importance (in relation to the country as a whole) as its focal point(s). One characteristic common to all these regions is therefore the cleavage between rural and urban population. In the following pages a brief description will be given of each of these regions (cf. Map 1).

*(a). The West Cameroon region.* Since the creation of a unified state the former territory of West Cameroon has been divided into two provinces, i.e. the North-West and the South-West. Although made up of diverse and dissimilar elements which have more in common with neighbouring regions or with Nigeria, this West Cameroon region possesses what is, in our view, one over-riding unifying feature which justifies its description as a separate region: its recent history under British rule, the marks of which it still bears. English (or its variant pidgin-English) as the means of communication between ethnic groups, the system of education, the political habits, the economic and cultural ties with the former mother country or with its African 'representatives' (such as Nigeria, to which the British Cameroons were attached for administrative purposes) are all factors which lend unity to the life of the region in relation to the other provinces of Cameroon. What is more, Cameroon has two towns of secondary importance which act as focal points; Buea on the coast and Bamenda in the North, at the access to the Ring Road.

However, variety is by no means the least of this region's features and it has many aspects. There are three major natural zones: the coastal zone with its equatorial climate, the central forest-land, and the savannah and grassfields of the north. Population density varies widely, from more than 150 inhabitants per km² around Bamenda to the almost semi-desert zones along the Nigerian frontier. As far as ethnic groups are concerned, these are divided into the coastal peoples (chiefly Bakundu and Duala) with their long contact with Europe, and the northern tribes (Tikar, Widekun, Cross River) who have characteristics very similar to those of their neighbours the Bamileke and Bamoum. The type of crop grown varies greatly (cocoa, coffee, tea, hevea, palms, maize) as does the type of production (agro-industrial units—family holdings). In addition, pasture cattle are raised in the north.

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[1] Cf. Y. Marguerat, *Analyse numérique des migrations vers les villes du Cameroun*, and A. Valette, *Les méthodes de la planification régionale au Cameroun*.

[2] We shall not be discussing the Eastern Province, which seems to us to exist only as an administrative division, resembling the North in some ways and the Central-Southern region in others.

*(b). The Central-Southern region.* The Central-Southern region is dominated by Yaoundé, the country's administrative and political capital and the centre of an important trading network covering the entire region. The development of Yaoundé has caused the decline of a number of secondary towns (Ebolowa. Mbalmayo, Bafia). Yaoundé is at the centre of a heavily-populated area (about 100 inhabitants per km$^2$—a density which decreases as one moves away from the centre). The main ethnic groups living in this region are the Beti (Ewondo, Eton), the Bulu and the Basa, who were subjected to western influence at a later date than the coastal tribes but none the less to a considerable degree. They have been exposed for some long time to the influence of Christian missions and to formal education. The natural features of the region comprise a zone of savannah in the north and a zone of forests becoming increasingly dense toward the south. Cocoa is by far the most important crop, the others being coffee, oil palms, foodcrops (tuberous plants) and timber. Several industries are located at Yaoundé and there are several agro-industrial operations in the savannah zone (cane sugar, fruits).

*(c). The region along the Bafoussam-Douala axis.* We have combined the Western and Littoral Provinces into one region. There is intensive trade between these two provinces, carried on principally by the Bamileke society. The main languages used for communication between the ethnic groups are French and pidgin-English. At one extremity of this region lies the town of Douala which, with its port, its industrial and commercial undertakings and its large population (about 500,000) is the economic capital of the country. At the other extremity is the Bamileke country, with Bafoussam as its chief town. The area around this town has the highest population density of the entire country (between 200 and 300 inhabitants per km$^2$). The economic and demographic vitality of the Bamileke has for a long time encouraged them to migrate. As a result, they have spread throughout the Mungo river valley along the Bafoussam-Douala axis; they are the largest single group in Douala, and most of the major towns in Cameroon have a resident population of Bamileke traders. The other important groups are the Duala, the Basa and the Bamum, the first of these having the longest history of relations with the Europeans. The main agricultural resources of the region are maize, plantain, coffee and bananas.

*(d). The Northern region.* In our view, the North is the most highly individual region in Cameroon, the one which most closely corresponds to the definition of a well-defined socio-historic entity. The focal element is the Fulani tribe; all the other tribes, in one way or another, have had to take the lead from them —geographically, politically, ideologically. The colonial era ensured the pre-eminence of the Fulani tribe and it is the relationship which the other tribes have with them and, through them, with the state which conditions the present evolution of this region. The Fulani in the strict sense of the term represent less than a quarter of the population in the north. However, they are present in all the towns (both large and small) and occupy most of the important administrative

and political posts. Confronting them, or alongside them, are a large number of social groups, for the most part non-Islamic, of which the most important are the mountain societies (Matakam, etc.), the Massa and the Toupouri, these two latter groups straddling the frontier with Chad. The only genuine language of communication between ethnic groups is the Fulani language. The urban poles of attraction within the region are Garoua (which acts as a true regional capital), Ngaoundere and Maroua. The highest population density in the north is to be found within a radius of 100 km from Maroua: the three departments there, covering 13.5 per cent of the area, contain about 60 per cent of the population. This implies that there are areas which are practically semi-desert, in which animal preserves have been created. The main resource of the north is millet, which is the staple diet of the population. In addition, cotton, groundnuts and rice are grown. The Adamawa plateau, in the south of the region, has the largest herd of cattle in the country, estimated at 2 million head. There are very few industries.

### *2. The regions in Chad and Nigeria*

Chad and Nigeria, like Cameroon, are the products of colonial partitions and certain population groups have been cut in two by the frontier either between Cameroon and Nigeria or between Cameroon and Chad.

In both Nigeria and Chad a process of north-south differentiation, similar to that in Cameroon, has been at work as a result of the pre-colonial past, the pattern of economic development and the political implications of the method of government.

As can be seen from Map 3 (page 68), the territory of Chad is the geographic prolongation of Cameroon. The south and central sections of the country are relatively densely populated—on either side of the alluvial basins of the Logone and Chari rivers—but the northern area is desert. As the poor relation of French Equatorial Africa, state education of the French type was late and slow in starting—roughly around 1920, when the decree setting up the 'Military territory of the Countries and Protectorates of the Chad' dating from 1900 was annulled.

Chad is at present divided into 14 *Préfectures*, which provide the structure upon which the school system is based. However, these 14 *Préfectures* can be divided into three groups, which form relatively distinct regions.[1] *The Northern region*, mostly Sahel and desert, is peopled chiefly by nomads and a few sedentary Arab tribes. The traditions of these tribes, and in particular their allegiance to Islam, have always made them somewhat hostile to European influences. *The Central region* is very similar to the North in its hostility to colonial and post-colonial interference. Most of the population are followers of Islam, but nomads are in a minority. In an area which is mainly scrub, the agricultural resources are millet, groundnuts, maize and some cotton. The language of communication in both these regions is Arab. *The Southern region* is the wealthiest and most heavily populated of the three, with its savannah and baobab trees and its grassy flood plains. The European operations were concentrated in this region. The main groups are the Saras, the Massa and the Toupouri—sedentary peoples and cultivators of millet, rice, groundnuts and cotton (and fishermen in the case of those living along the Logone and Chari rivers). By and large these societies, and in particular the Saras, were more receptive to the colonial influence (missions, schools, cotton) than those in the other regions. The Saras—closely associated with the machinery of government—can be considered as the dominant group. Two towns provide the focal points for the region: Sarh (formerly Fort-Archambault) and Ndjamena, the capital.

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[1] Although what is happening today would tend to prove that there are only two regions in Chad, with the Chari river more or less the dividing line. Cf. I. Khayar, *Le refus de l'école*.

The Federation of Nigeria, which is next door to Cameroon, has more or less the same natural features from the Atlantic coast to the Sahel. The main difference is in terms of population—Nigeria has in fact ten times as many people, i.e. 70-80 million inhabitants. European-type education was introduced in the coastal area by Christian missionaries in the 1860s. Its development was haphazard and irregular.

The demographic, commercial and cultural vitality of the major groups, fostered by the systematic application of Indirect Rule by the British, has meant that the problem of balance between the country's different regions has become far more acute than elsewhere, as the events of recent years have clearly demonstrated. The Federal government's reaction was to increase the number of regions—i.e. Federal States—so as to prevent one or other of the former colonial regions from assuming too great an importance in relation to the remainder. However, the earlier regional divisions seem to us more appropriate to the understanding of the problem of disparities, in particular with respect to their socio-historic basis. Apart from the Lagos region, which is a special case, the three other original regions (Northern, Eastern, Western) seem to us to be quite distinct, aside from the wide variety of economic activity, traditions and religions. Each region has a densely populated zone and a key agricultural zone, i.e. the Cocoa Belt (West), the Palm Belt (East) and the cotton and groundnut plantations in the North. Each has also a major ethnic group (Yoruba in the West, Ibo in the East, and Hausa-Fulani in the North), a dominant language, a religion (except in the West, where Islam and Christianity have an equal number of followers), an urban network (the Kaduna-Kano axis in the North, Port Harcourt-Enugu in the East and the cluster of Yoruba towns in the West). The Western region was the one subjected to the earliest and most direct European influence. The British policy of Indirect Rule in the North encouraged the social and cultural conservatism of the Fulani chieftains, but there was no preventing the profound changes which development brought about in the Yoruba and Ibo countries.

Had it not been for the colonial frontiers, North Cameroon, part of the former Northern Region of Nigeria and part of South-West Chad could have formed a single, integrated region. This region (cf. Map 3) corresponds to the territory ruled by the Fulani empire of Sokoto in the nineteenth century. In addition to its common pre-colonial history, it has also a similarity of natural features (savannah), agricultural production and inter-ethnic relations where the Fulani influence is still very much alive. However, as in the case of West Cameroon, colonial rule followed by independent nation states have left their mark to such an extent that the three parts of this pre-colonial region have become part of the structure of their respective countries.

In this first chapter we have highlighted the main historical processes in the constitution of the disparities in Cameroon, mentioning their similarity with processes which have been at work in Chad and Nigeria. These processes, stemming from the interaction between the colonisers and the African communities, can be seen as an overall movement of socio-regional differentiation, combining various economic, political and ideological currents. We have thus defined our framework of analysis, which enables us to position regional disparities within a pattern of trends which has nothing fortuitous about it and whose path is determined by the dialectical relationship between its different determinants. We have noted in particular the progressive strengthening of the political and ideological determinants, a strengthening which has led to independence. This pattern of trends is now evolving within a national context which can only accentuate the regional context which we have analysed. What is more, the legitimising function of the educational system has become fundamental. As was seen earlier (p. 26), this has resulted in a spectacular expansion of the school population independently of the growth in the job market and in parallel with the persistence of regional disparities which have retained their importance and their pattern of distribution. We shall be examining these disparities in detail in the next section.

# II. The regional disparities in education

In this section we shall be analysing the different aspects of the geographical distribution of education in Cameroon, and thereafter summarising the situation in Chad and Nigeria. Here, as elsewhere, the educational system is organised along the same lines as the administrative system and educational statistics are broken down in accordance with the administrative regions. As our regional units of reference we shall therefore be using the geographical-administrative divisions. In the United Republic of Cameroon there are seven such units termed 'provinces': five provinces corresponding to the former French East Cameroon (North, East, Central-Southern, West and Littoral) and two corresponding to the former British West Cameroon (North-West and South-West).

## A. The present pattern of regional educational disparities in Cameroon

The regional distribution of primary education for the 1971/72 school year is shown in Table 2.[1] This table shows that there are two types of region: those with a high index ratio, which correspond to the colonisers' 'useful zone' (West, Central-Southern and Littoral) and the rest, with an average or low ratio. In this second category the most backward provinces are the South-West and the North-West (i.e. the former British Cameroons whose marginal status as part of

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[1] For the sake of conformity in the data on disparities, we have taken the figures for the year 1971/72. 1972 is the latest year for which educational statistics and an official population estimate are available. It is also the first year of the Third Plan. A population census was carried out in Cameroon in 1976. Global data per province have been published (see appendix) but the official educational statistics for the corresponding year are not available—at a later stage, we shall be using estimated figures.

Nigeria was mentioned earlier[1]) and in particular the North, which is way behind the rest.[2]

The figures for general secondary education, given in Table 3, show even wider gaps between these two groups of regions than was the case with primary education.

TABLE 2. Regional disparities in primary education (1971/72)

| Region | Population | %I | Enrolment in primary education | %II | Index II/I[1] | Enrolment per thousand population |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| North | 1 590 248 | 26.0 | 93 132 | 10.0 | 0.38 | 58 |
| Central-Southern | 1 293 368 | 21.0 | 269 254 | 29.0 | 1.38 | 209 |
| West | 878 252 | 14.4 | 188 679 | 20.3 | 1.40 | 214 |
| North-West | 759 881 | 12.4 | 95 605 | 10.3 | 0.83 | 125 |
| Littoral | 747 956 | 12.2 | 141 804 | 15.2 | 1.24 | 189 |
| South-West | 554 945 | 9.0 | 88 415 | 9.5 | 1.05 | 159 |
| East | 302 947 | 5.0 | 53 242 | 5.7 | 1.14 | 175 |
| Total | 6 118 097 | 100 | 930 131 | 100 | | 158 |

1. This index, which is used by a number of authors (Bugnicourt, Foster, etc.), could be termed the 'selectivity index', since it expresses the relationship between enrolment and population within each region. It serves as a rough measure of inter-regional disparities.

SOURCES *Annual Statistical Abstract*. Nat. Min. of Ed., Un. Rep. of Cameroon.
*Population of Cameroon in 1972 by province* (SAT.V. Nov. 72). Department of Educational Statistics.

TABLE 3. Regional disparities in secondary education (1971/72)

| Region | Population | %I | Enrolment in secondary education | %II | Index II/I |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Littoral | 747 956 | 12.2 | 15 856 | 24.27 | 1.98 |
| Central-Southern | 1 293 368 | 21.0 | 26 413 | 40.41 | 1.92 |
| West | 878 252 | 14.4 | 12 154 | 18.60 | 1.29 |
| East | 302 947 | 5.0 | 2 387 | 3.66 | 0.73 |
| South-West | 554 945 | 9.0 | 3 668 | 5.91 | 0.62 |
| North-West | 759 881 | 12.4 | 2 453 | 3.75 | 0.32 |
| North | 1 590 248 | 26.0 | 2 421 | 3.70 | 0.14 |
| Total | 6 118 097 | 100 | 65 352 | 100 | |

SOURCE *Annual Statistical Abstract*. Nat. Min. of Ed., Rep. of Cameroon.

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1. In the British Cameroons, the main educational impulse came from (in order of importance): the missions, the Native Authorities and the administration. The administration restricted the intake into the 'English' schools, of which there were very few, because it employed persons trained in Nigeria. Cf. the study by C. and G. Courade.
2. It should also be noted that the distribution of girls in primary education follows a similar pattern, i.e. provinces with the highest proportion of girls in the school population are also those with the highest enrolment levels e.g. Central-Southern: 28.35% of girls; Littoral: 47.58%; West: 46.8%. By the same token, the region with the lowest enrolment level is also the one with the lowest proportion of girls i.e. the North: 24.77%.

However, the data in Table 3 reflect only an 'apparent' pattern for secondary education,[1] since they give only the numbers of children enrolled in a region, without specifying what region they come from. In other words, what this table really shows is the pattern of the regional 'supply' in terms of general secondary education. Everyone is aware of the extent to which the location of secondary schools is geared to the location of towns. Cameroon is no exception to this rule: the regions with the highest ratios, i.e. the Littoral and Central Southern Provinces, contain the two largest cities in the country—Douala and Yaoundé.[2]

Y. Marguerat (op. cit.) succeeded in getting information on the geographical origin of students in general secondary education in 1968/69, and on the basis of this Table 4, showing the 'real' secondary enrolment per region, was compiled.

As far as the ranking of the different regions is concerned, this table is absolutely identical with Table 2 concerning primary education. Where it differs is in the size of gaps between regions, which here are much wider, e.g. the index variation between the West and the North is 1.02 in the case of primary education and 2.05 in the case of secondary education.

TABLE 4. 'Real' secondary enrolment per region (1968/69)

| Region | Estimated population 1968 (%I) | Enrolment in secondary education[1] | %II | Index II/I[1] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| West | 14.84 | 14 486 | 31.96 | 2.15 |
| Central-Southern | 20.0 | 14 672 | 34.53 | 1.72 |
| Littoral | 11.20 | 7 493 | 16.50 | 1.47 |
| East | 4.92 | 1 309 | 2.88 | 0.58 |
| W. Cameroon | 21.48 | 5 195 | 11.44 | 0.53 |
| North | 27.56 | 1 223 | 2.69 | 0.10 |
| Total | 100 | 45 378 | 100 | |

1. Not including 1,336 foreigners and non-classified.

Taking the figures for higher education for the same year 1968/69, these gaps widen still further, as is evidenced by the distribution of candidates for the Baccalaureat in 1969.[3] Of the 948 candidates from Cameroon (including 98 candidates for the English GCEAL), 379 were originally from the Western region, i.e. ca. 40 per cent (index 2.69). Only 5 students came originally from the North, i.e. 0.52 per cent (index 0.02, which gives an index variation of 2.67

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[1] Cf. Y. Marguerat, *Problèmes géographiques de l'enseignement au Cameroun*. This study contains extremely detailed information on the regional and departmental distribution of education.

[2] The littoral region, or more accurately the town of Douala, the economic capital of Cameroon, alone accounts for 45% of total enrolment in technical education.

[3] Information supplied by Y. Marguerat.

between the West and the North). The imbalance between the aggregate distribution of these candidates is such that, when one plots it on a map, it looks almost ludicrous. If one takes just the French system of education, a line running more or less between the towns of Bamenda and Djoum, (i.e. with to the north-east of this line the North and East regions and the Northern departments of the Central-Southern and West regions) divides Cameroon into its two scolastic zones: the South-West, i.e. the coastal zone, with about 49 per cent of the total population, which supplies 95.5 per cent of the *Baccalauréat* candidates; and the North-West, which supplies the remaining 4.5 per cent (see Map 2).[1]

This provides us with a gross measure of regional educational disparities in Cameroon. The imbalances, which are already acute in primary education, increase as one goes up the educational ladder. However, the synchronic cut we have taken across the educational spectrum records different scholastic periods. For instance, the students in the secondary level in 1971/72 correspond for the most part with those who were in the primary level 7 years earlier, i.e. in 1964/65. By contrast, the 1971/72 primary students—that is, the survivors—will not appear *in toto* in the secondary level until 1977/78. One has therefore to analyse the situation in real time in order to see to what extent these disparities have evolved and are likely to evolve.

## B. The evolution of regional disparities in education

### *1. The relative pace of regional educational development*

Table 5 traces the development of primary education within each region (1954 = 100).

Despite the fact that the total trend shows a fourfold increase in enrolment over this 20-year period, the pace of growth in some regions has been even more spectacular. However, this is more a measure of their handicap at the start. The North, for example, has increased its capacity 12.7 times and similarly, West Cameroon and the West and East regions show a fivefold increase. The coastal region has the lowest coefficient (3.04), but this is the region with the longest established educational structure in the country.

However, if one takes a look at the trend in the proportion for each region over the same 20-year period, as shown in Figure 1, one notes changes of a different kind.

First of all, the trend has not been regular, in particular between 1954 and 1964. Secondly, the share of each region has changed; e.g., the North's share has risen from 3.5 per cent of total enrolment in 1954 to 10.3 per cent in 1975. West Cameroon and the West have also increased their shares (the first from 17 to 22 per cent, the second from 17 to 20 per cent). By the same token, the original

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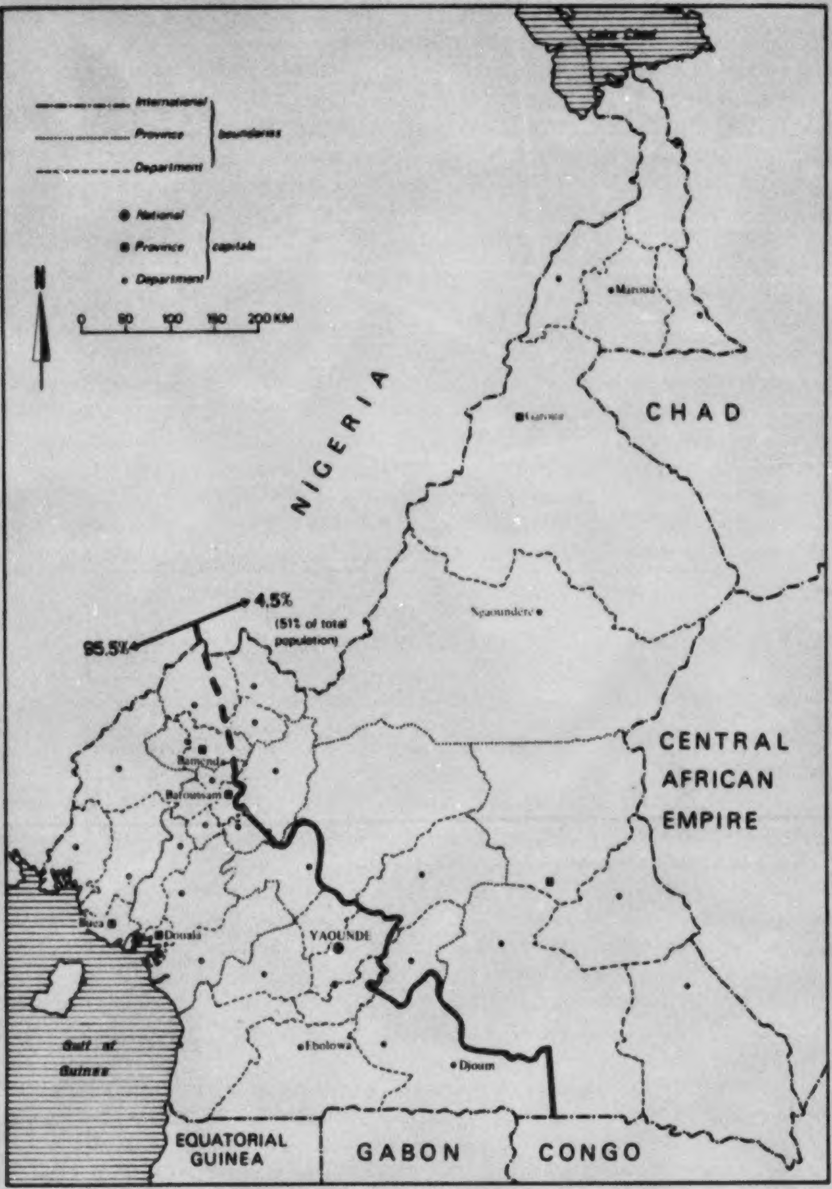
[1] This map is based on Y. Marguerat (op. cit., p. 58).


Lake Chad
International
Province
Department
boundaries
National
Province
Department
capitals
N
0 50 100 150 200 KM
Maroua
Garoua
NIGERIA
CHAD
Ngaoundere
4.5%
(51% of total population)
95.5%
CENTRAL AFRICAN EMPIRE
Bamenda
Bafoussam
Buea
Douala
YAOUNDE
Ebolowa
Djoum
Gulf of Guinea
EQUATORIAL GUINEA
GABON
CONGO

MAP 2. *Geographic distribution of candidates for the baccalauréat in 1969 in Cameroon.*

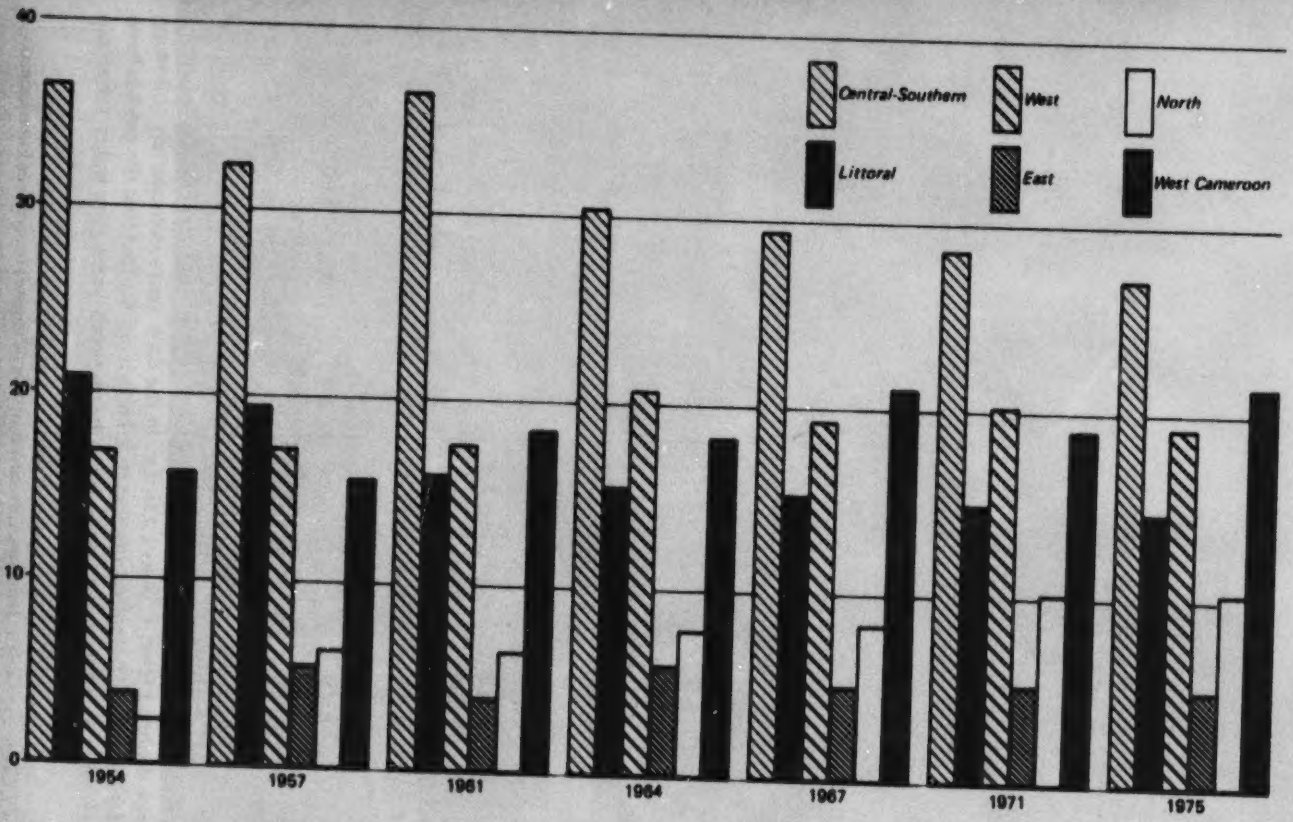


FIGURE 1. *Cameroon: regional trends in enrolment, primary education, 1954-75.*

TABLE 5. Development of primary education by region, 1954-75

| Region | 1954 | 1957 | 1961 | 1964 | 1967 | 1971 | 1975[1] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Central-Southern | 100 | 128 | 201 | 218 | 253 | 283 | 318 |
| East | 100 | 166 | 194 | 350 | 375 | 442 | 489 |
| Littoral | 100 | 126 | 151 | 195 | 226 | 257 | 304 |
| North | 100 | 231 | 397 | 619 | 781 | 1 031 | 1 274 |
| West | 100 | 135 | 207 | 313 | 361 | 420 | 493 |
| W. Cameroon | 100 | 123 | 213 | 278 | 389 | 412 | 553 |
| Total | 100 | 135 | 201 | 261 | 314 | 358 | 428 |

1. Estimate arrived at by taking the latest available figures (1973-74) and applying the average annual growth rate in enrolment over the preceding 5 years.

leaders have dropped back, e.g. the Central Southern region's share has fallen from 36.5 to 27 per cent and the Coastal region's share from 21 to 15 per cent. On the other hand, the East, despite a fivefold increase in enrolment, has only slightly increased its share (from 4.6 to 5.2 per cent). Lastly, it will be noted that certain regions have improved their position, e.g. West Cameroon and the Western region have moved ahead of the Littoral region, whilst the North has overtaken the East.

However, these figures showing the overall growth in enrolment in each region and its respective share of the total do not provide a full picture of the evolution of educational disparities. A true measure of this can be obtained only by relating the increase in enrolment to the overall growth in population.

## *2. Changes in the degree of disparity*

The graph in Figure 2 shows the variation for each region's selectivity index[1] over the period 1954-1975. In our view, this graph provides a fairly accurate picture of the evolution of disparities over this period. It calls for several comments.

The overall pattern would indicate that the relative disparity between the various regions has diminished during these 20 years: the variation between the upper and lower indices has dropped from 1.99 to 1.12. Thus it can be said that the inter-regional disparities in primary education are less great now they were 20 years ago.

It will be seen that this reduction in disparities occurred primarily between 1954 and 1964 and was most marked between 1961 and 1964 (when the index range dropped from 1.58 to 1.18), i.e. in the four years immediately following independence. Thereafter, one has to acknowledge the fact that the gap has been narrowing at a far slower rate—over the past ten years, the index range has

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[1] Cf. footnote to Table 5. The statistical data used to plot this figure are contained in the appendix.

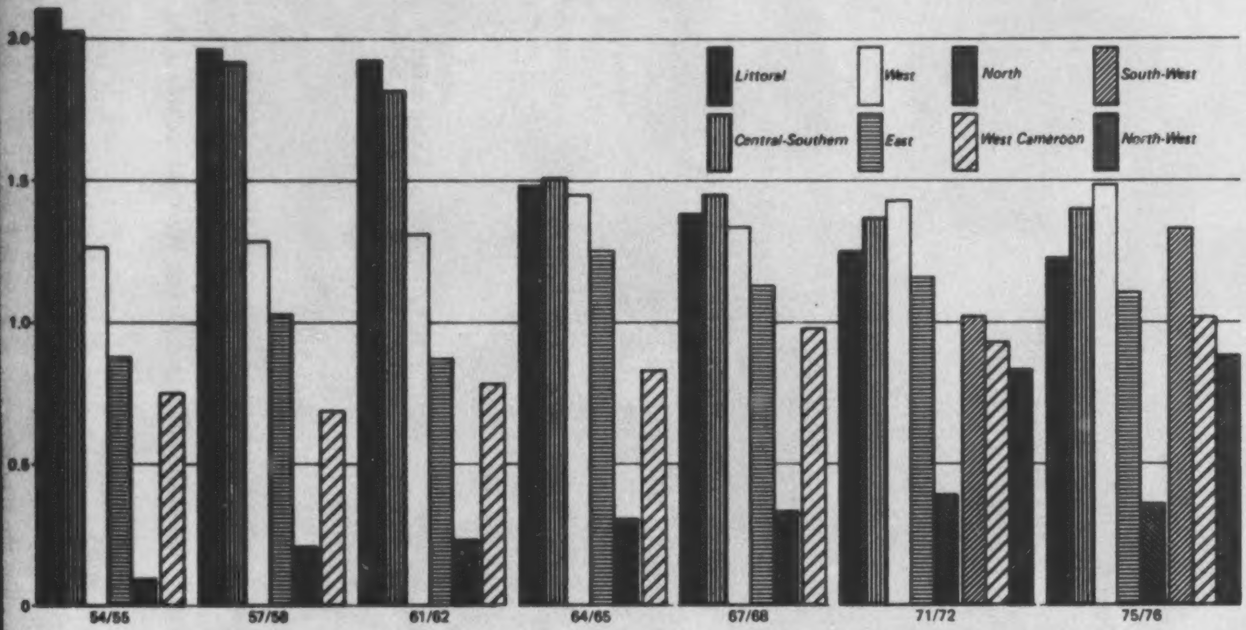

**FIGURE 2.** *Cameroon: regional evolution of selectivity indices, 1954-75.*

decreased only from 1.18 to 1.12. Moreover, it will be noted that the regions with the highest ratios in 1954 (Littoral, Central-Southern and West) were still in the lead in 1975, even though their positions have been reversed, the West now having the highest enrolment level in Cameroon. As far as the regions with low ratios are concerned, it will be seen that, although the overall situation in the North has improved steadily, it is still in last position and its relative handicap is still substantial—in twenty years, the gap between it and the West has shrunk by only 0.04 and the gap between it and West Cameroon, immediately above it, has increased by 0.07.

At the present rate, it will need a lot of time before these disparities are completely eliminated. There are two possible hypotheses in this connection. In fact, if one assumes the same rate of reduction as that for the period 1954-1975—a purely theoretical hypothesis—it would need another thirty years before the disparities disappear. On the other hand, if one takes the rate of reduction of the last ten years—a more realistic hypothesis since the enrolment 'boom' occurred earlier—it would take several generations!

Lastly, it should be pointed out that the relative stabilisation of disparities over the past ten years coincides with a period during which national structures were set up and consolidated and during which processes of socio-economic differentiation were at work at national level. In other words, what is happening at present is that structures are emerging which will reproduce these disparities and make their spontaneous elimination all the more difficult. The Northern region, which accounts for about 28 per cent of the total population, has since 1964 contributed only 14 per cent of the new annual enrolment in primary education and 3.9 per cent of that in secondary education. During this same period the three Central-Southern, Western and Littoral regions, which account for about 46 per cent of the total population, have provided 57.65 per cent of new enrolment in primary education and 83.06 per cent of that in secondary education.

Our next task is to highlight the processes within the educational system which contribute to this situation. These processes are linked to what one might term the differential efficiency of the system or, in other words, to differences in performance.

## C. Regional educational performance

The internal performance of an educational system is measured by three related indicators, the promotion, repeating and drop-out rates. These three indicators vary according to region and educational level. We shall see this in the case of Cameroon.

### *1. Primary education*

The average rates for these performance indicators have been calculated for the different regions in French-speaking Cameroon for the period 1970-1973. The graph representing the repeating rate is given in Figure 3.

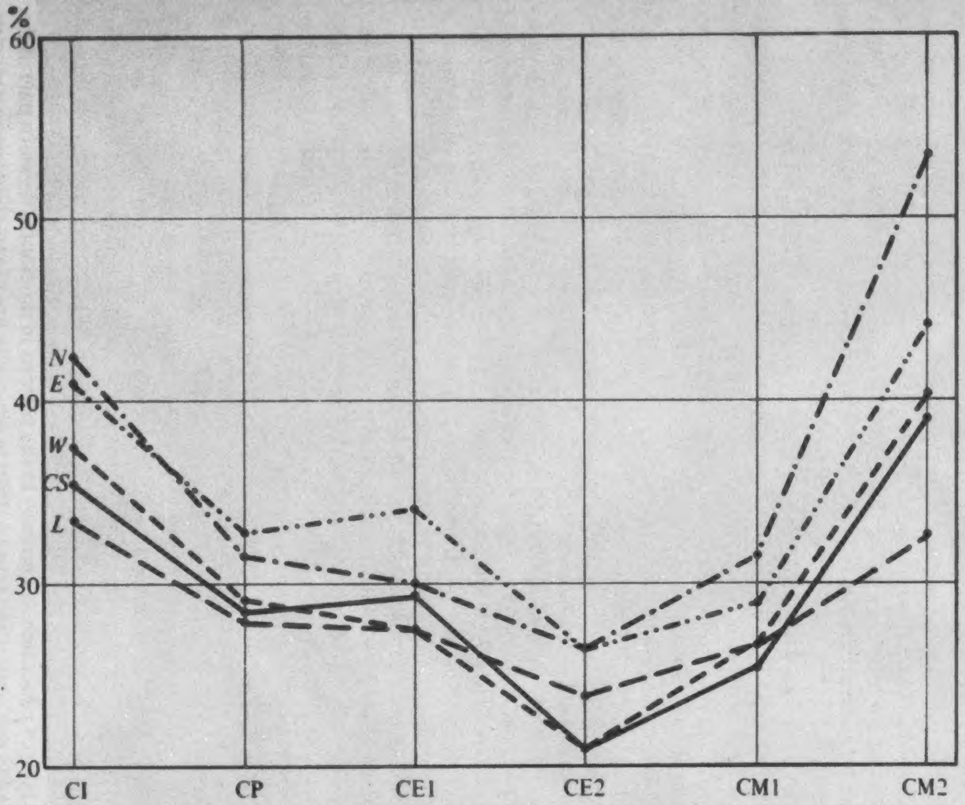

**FIGURE 3.** *Regional repeating rates, primary education, 1970-73.*

By and large, the five regions analysed show a similar profile, i.e. in each case the peaks for repeating occur in the first and last primary grades, and particularly in the last grade, which is when the final examinations and transition into the next cycle occur; the lowest repeating rates occur in the fourth grade (CE2). None the less, it is possible to distinguish two patterns in the level of these rates over the six-year period. These two patterns correspond to the two categories of region already identified, i.e. the regions with high enrolment and those with low enrolment. Those with low enrolment, i.e. the North and East, have the highest repeating rates in every grade. The difference is most marked in CI and CM2. It should also be pointed out that the Littoral region has the lowest and most even curve of all.

The next indicator is the drop-out rate, which is shown in Figure 4. Once again, we find the North and East regions with the highest drop-out rates throughout the cycle. The Coastal region, with its much lower rate, shows the same regular curve as before. The Central-Southern and Western regions however have an irregular curve.

The repeating and drop-out rates combine to give the promotion rate, which is the most important indicator of an educational system's performance. The 'typically ideal' system is one with a 100 per cent promotion rate throughout the cycle. This is far from being the case here, as is obvious from Figure 5. The overall pattern is similar, but there is a more obvious gap between the two categories of region. When these promotion rates are applied to notional cohorts of 1,000 students for a time-span T, we obtain the results shown in Figure 6.[1].

The progress of these different cohorts demonstrates how the gaps between regions widen during the course of primary education. Starting with an equal number of entrants in year 1, the vastly superior performance of the Littoral, Western and Central-Southern regions enables them to keep more than half through to the final year, whereas the North and East keep barely a third. Comparing the two extremes, it will be seen that the Coastal region's performance (653) is twice as high as the East's (330). A closer look at the figures shows that *most of the gaps* (in absolute figures) *occur during the first three years*. By the time the CE2 level has been reached the North and East have already lost more than half of those originally enrolled, whereas the other regions have retained two-thirds of them. In this connection a further point should be made: the drop-outs which occur in the North and East are, in most cases, definitive, including those which occur after the first primary grade. In the other regions, dropping out does not necessarily mean leaving the system entirely, particularly after the first grade. It may simply mean transition from one type of education to another. In the regions in the South-Western part of the country, not only is the family attitude generally hostile to children abandoning school at an early age, but in addition there is a very wide range of alternatives available, which means that a student who drops out from a state school after

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1. In calculating these figures we have used the method described by P. Perrot and A. Labrousse in IIEP Occasional Paper No. 24.

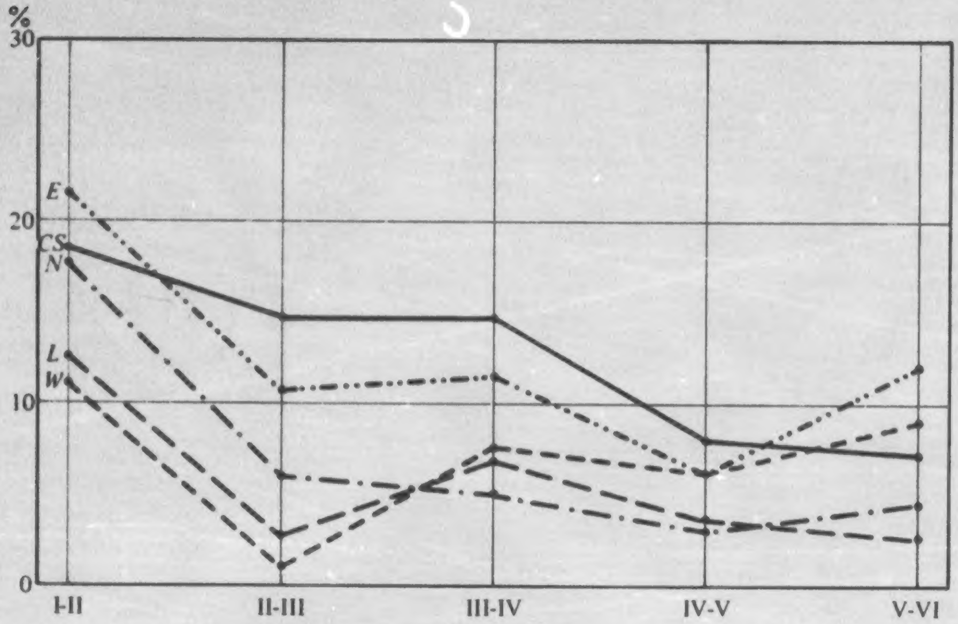


**Figure 4.** *Regional drop-out rates, primary education, 1970-73.*

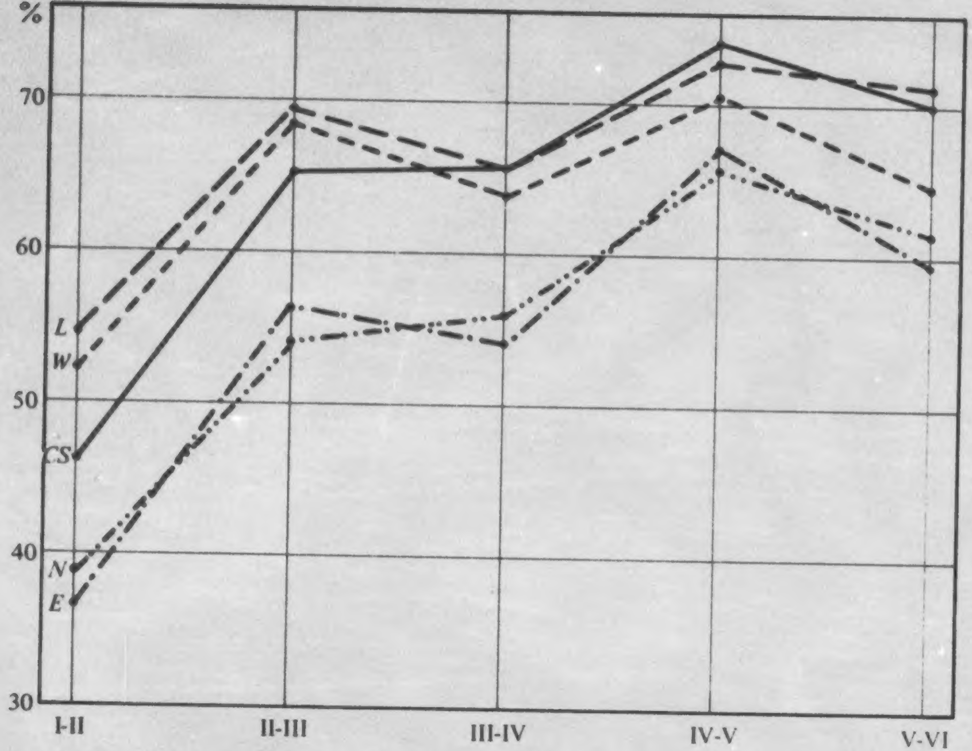
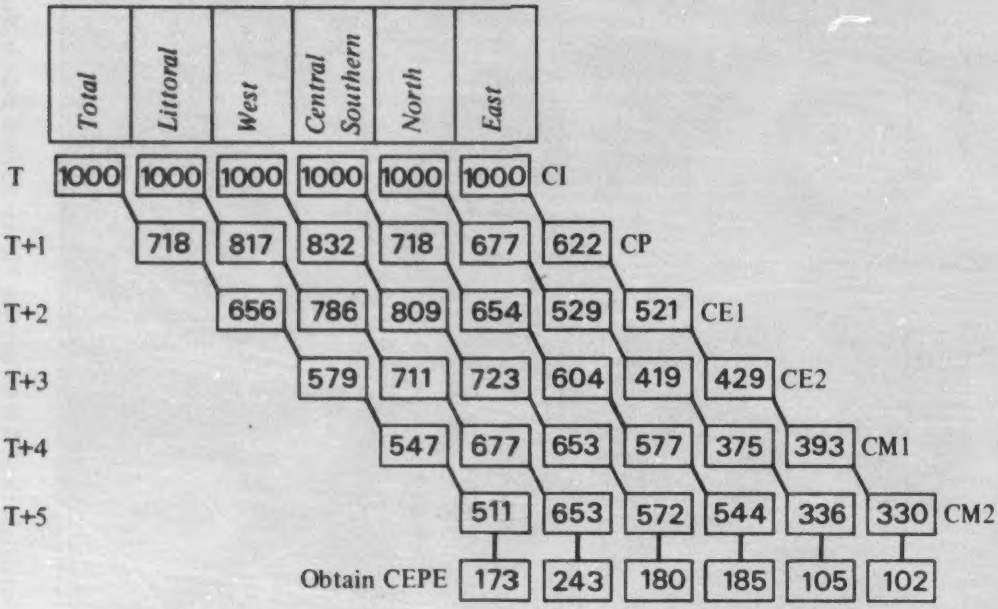


**Figure 5.** *Regional promotion rates, primary education, 1970-73.*



|  | Total | Littoral | West | Central Southern | North | East |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| T | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | 1000 | CI |
| T+1 | 718 | 817 | 832 | 718 | 677 | 622 | CP |
| T+2 | 656 | 786 | 809 | 654 | 529 | 521 | CE1 |
| T+3 | 579 | 711 | 723 | 604 | 419 | 429 | CE2 |
| T+4 | 547 | 677 | 653 | 577 | 375 | 393 | CM1 |
| T+5 | 511 | 653 | 572 | 544 | 336 | 330 | CM2 |
| Obtain CEPE | 173 | 243 | 180 | 185 | 105 | 102 |  |

FIGURE 6. *Promotion of notional cohorts of 1,000 in primary education.*

one year, for example, has still the choice between several types of private school. This choice is much more restricted in the North and East, as is evident from the figures in Table 6, which show enrolment in primary education per province in 1972/73 broken down between state and private schools.

TABLE 6. Enrolment in primary education per province in 1972/73 broken down between state and private schools in the Cameroon (percentages)

| | | | Private education broken down between: | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Province | State | Private | Catholic | Protestant | Franco-Arab | Non-denom. |
| Central-Southern | 55.20 | 44.80 | 73.48 | 23.95 | 0.43 | 2.10 |
| East | 77.83 | 22.17 | 59.30 | 39.15 | — | 1.53 |
| Littoral | 43.50 | 56.50 | 52.44 | 31.81 | 0.59 | 15.14 |
| North | 80.50 | 19.50 | 60.46 | 33.92 | 3.61 | — |
| North-West | 24.35 | 75.65 | 43.22 | 56.77 | — | — |
| West | 57.38 | 43.62 | 68.94 | 29.75 | 1.30 | — |
| South-West | 36.25 | 63.75 | 50.01 | 49.99 | — | — |
| Total | 52.90 | 47.10 | 59.97 | 35.99 | 0.63 | 3.40 |

We have so far been reasoning on the basis of an equivalent intake, since the differences in performances are sufficient to illustrate the process of differential growth in enrolment levels. It is important now to take a look first at what happens to these intakes—which of course are not equivalent in every region—and secondly at the performances themselves, so as to get some idea of the real evolution of primary education within the regions.

Let us first of all take the trend for enrolment in the first primary grade. Taking the year 1966/67 as our base (i.e. 100), the rates of growth recorded for 1972/73 were as shown in Table 7.

TABLE 7. Enrolment in first primary grade, 1972/73

| | Central-Southern | North | West | Littoral | East |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| New enrolment | 132 | 143 | 126 | 124 | 131 |
| Total enrolment | 110 | 129 | 108 | 112 | 116 |

It will be noted that the North has the highest growth rate both for new enrolment and for total enrolment in the Language Initiation Course. This to some extent explains the spectacular growth in enrolment in the North which has already been mentioned. In view of the performance ratios which we have just been looking at, this also means that the growth rate in the Northern region is nowhere near sufficient to allow it to catch up. In fact, even if this same growth

**TABLE 8.** Performance ratios at end of first grade, 1966/67 and 1971/72

| Year | Central-Southern | North | West | Littoral | East | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1966-67 | | | | | | |
| promotion | 46.52 | 35.45 | 50.32 | 55.96 | 35.45 | 46.26 |
| drop-out | 10.56 | 23.53 | 8.14 | 7.16 | 21.73 | 12.45 |
| repeating | 42.91 | 41.10 | 41.52 | 36.86 | 42.80 | 41.28 |
| 1971-72 | | | | | | |
| promotion | 48.76 | 40.98 | 52.09 | 56.24 | 35.35 | 48.28 |
| drop-out | 18.03 | 15.47 | 11.03 | 12.25 | 30.16 | 16.09 |
| repeating | 33.14 | 43.54 | 36.86 | 30.96 | 34.47 | 35.59 |

rate were combined with performances equal to those of the Littoral region, this would still not be sufficient to enable it to close the gap in the near future. Moreover, although the performance of the Northern region is improving , so too are those of most of the other regions, as we are about to see.

We will now take a look at the performance figures at the end of the first grade. The figures in Table 8 give the performance ratios at the end of the 1966/67 and 1971/72 school years. From this table it would appear that the system has, on the whole, improved its efficiency or rather, one could say, increased its selectivity: the increase in the promotion rate is accompanied not only by a decline in repeating, but also by an increase in drop-outs! However, the situation is not identical in every region. The three regions with high enrolment show a similar trend, which is identical with the overall trend. The same is not true for the North and East. In the East, drop-outs have increased to such an extent that this has lowered the promotion rate—this is the only case where this occurs throughout the whole of French-speaking Cameroon. The trend in the Northern region is equally unusual: promotions increase, drop-outs decrease, but it is the only region where repeating increases. In other words, the increase in enrolment levels in the North is as much due to an increase in the retention rate as to a real increase in the numbers attending school. The system is therefore improving its efficiency in the North, but is not expanding to the same extent. This paradoxical situation can be explained by the following hypothesis, which we shall be referring to again at a later stage: school attendance amongst certain societies in the North is developing to an extent similar to that for the societies in the South-West zone, whereas others continue to show no progress and these are the more numerous.

## *2. Secondary education*

The growing disparities noted in primary education are reproduced and magnified at the secondary level, and this is due not to any difference in the actual performance ratios for secondary education, which are in fact similar in each region, but to one very well defined phenomenon, i.e. the disparities in the transition rates from the primary to the secondary level. The rates for each region in French-speaking Cameroon for the period 1970-73 were as shown in Table 9.

TABLE 9. Transition from primary to secondary level, 1970-73

| Region | Entrance exam. to 6th grade (%) | Enrolment in 6th grade (%) |
|---|---|---|
| Littoral | 4.75 | 19.83 |
| Central-Southern | 5.79 | 19.69 |
| West | 4.62 | 15.49 |
| East | 4.76 | 12.77 |
| North | 13.38 | 9.66 |
| Total | 5.50 | 17.58 |

The success rate in the entrance examination to the 6th grade varies considerably between regions. In the North it amounts to 13.4 per cent, whereas for the whole of West Cameroon the average is only 5.5 per cent. However, this in no way implies that in the North access to secondary education is broader than in other regions of the country. What counts in fact is not success in the examination but actual enrolment in the 6th grade—and here the differences are enormous. Whereas the success rate for East Cameroon as a whole is 5.5 per cent, the enrolment rate is 17.6 per cent. In other words, in the 6th grade the number of students enrolled is three times the number who pass the examination. What does need underlining is the fact that in the North the situation is completely reversed: of all the regions in Cameroon, it is the only one where the enrolment rate is lower than the success rate, i.e. 9.7 as against 13.4 per cent.

All this tends to show that the entrance examination to the 6th grade does not really constitute a means for controlling access to secondary education, and one wonders on what criteria enrolment in the 6th grade is based since everywhere, except in the North, enrolment is considerably higher than the numbers passing the examination.

As far as enrolment is concerned, it is once again the North and East which rank lowest, and there is still the same dichotomy between the two groups of regions. This dichotomy is much less apparent in secondary education as far as its internal performance is concerned, as is shown in Figure 7.

We have traced the pattern for the two extreme regions as far as the transition rate to secondary education is concerned, i.e. the North and Littoral regions. There is no noticeable difference between the curves for the promotion rates in these two regions, nor do they differ greatly from the average for East Cameroon, and transition from the first to the second cycle causes similar heavy losses. There is however one slight difference, i.e. the performance of the Northern region is better in the first cycle than in the second, whereas the reverse is true for the Littoral region. When these ratios are applied to notional

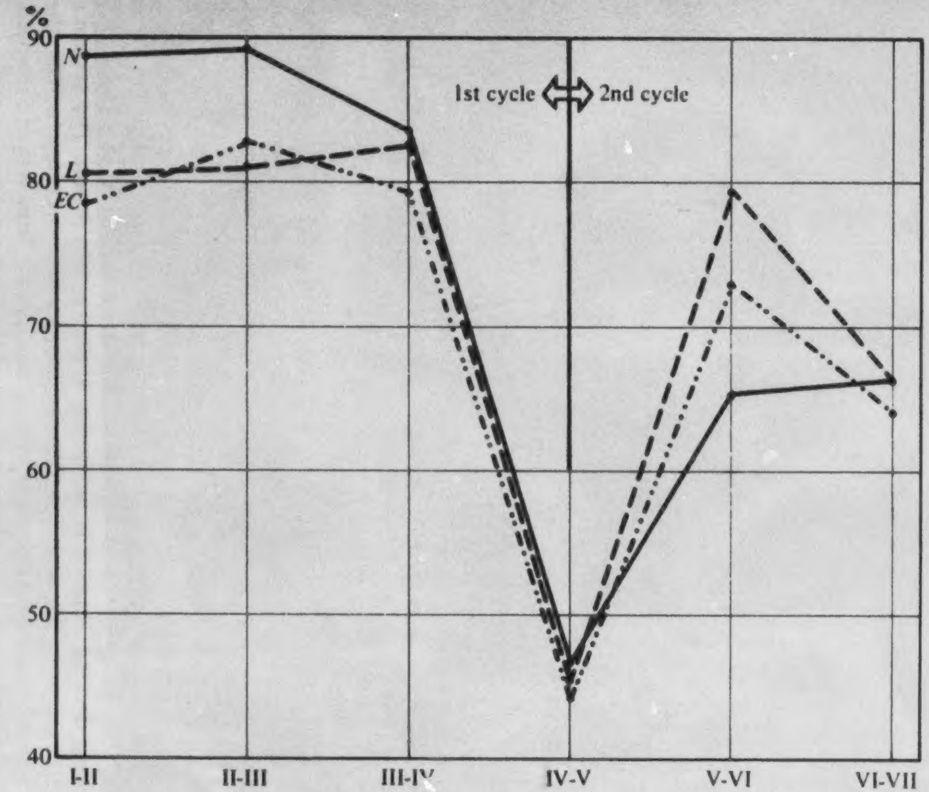


**FIGURE 7.** *Promotion rate in secondary education, 1970-73.*

cohorts of 1,000 students enrolling in the 6th grade,[1] the results are as shown in Table 10.

TABLE 10. Promotion rates in secondary level (notional cohorts of 1,000)

| | East Cameroon | North | Littoral |
|---|---|---|---|
| 6th | 1 000 | 1 000 | 1 000 |
| 5th | 862 | 962 | 870 |
| 4th | 782 | 911 | 769 |
| 3rd | 705 | 873 | 713 |
| *BEPC* | *438* | *714* | *418* |
| 2nd | 321 | 403 | 314 |
| 1st | 267 | 300 | 281 |
| Final grade | 224 | 248 | 238 |
| *Baccalauréat* | *118* | *183* | *142* |

The respective performance ratios of the North and Littoral regions enable both of them to push about the same number of students through to the final grade, but one observes that the success rate at the different examinations is incomparably higher in the North. Despite the measures taken by the authorities with regard to the functioning of the system, measures which in this case are aimed at reducing a definite imbalance, no change has resulted in the overall operation of the system. The backward regions are unable to overcome a handicap which—as we have seen—makes itself felt right from the first primary grade, increases as a result of low performance rates up to CM2, and is at its widest at the transition to secondary education.

Thus, after the first chapter, where we described the global processes of both an historical and external kind, our detailed analysis in this second chapter has enables us to trace the evolution of regional educational disparities in Cameroon by focusing on the operational processes within the educational system—processes which tend to sustain these educational disparities. Despite the progress observed in the situation at a local level, the gaps are still very wide, they have been only slightly reduced over the past ten years, and the Northern region's handicap will remain a difficult one to overcome. What is more, it is apparent that the situation is worsening in the Eastern region. The system's highly selective character—as emphasised earlier—operates within the educationally backward regions in a much more drastic fashion than elsewhere, since the North and East continue to record the lowest promotion rates.

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[1] It should be noted that in the North, the cohorts have never numbered 1000 pupils! (691 in 1972/73, compared with 4328 for the littoral region and 18,635 for the whole of former West Cameroon).

The kind of educational stratification which this produces takes place within primary education—and particularly in the first three grades—which makes any lessening of this gap impossible during the secondary cycle and even more so at the higher-education level. Our analysis however does not end with the highlighting of these processes. The next task is to investigate the relationship which exists between regional disparities and social inequalities. We have already seen that the dynamic of the socio-regional framework is partly based on the heterogeneity of its elements and that the educational area cannot avoid being affected by this. However, before proceeding to this next stage, we shall give a brief outline of the educational disparities in the countries bordering on Cameroon.

## D. Regional educational disparities in Chad and Nigeria

The north-south pattern of regional disparities in Cameroon applies in a similar way to Chad and Nigeria, as will be seen from Map 3.

Despite the different forms of colonisation (i.e. British on the one hand and French on the other) it will be noticed that the enrolment levels in primary education are similar in Cameroon and Nigeria and show the same pattern of becoming lower the further North one goes: more than 150 per thousand in the zones close to the coast and around 50 per thousand in the more remote zones. Chad is, as it were, an extension of the situation in these two countries, i.e. the highest level of enrolment is in the Southern part of the country—equivalent to the levels for the same latitude in the two other countries but lowest of the three—whilst the lowest level of enrolment is in the North. What is more, in all three countries, whatever the level of education, one finds similar processes, with some local variations, perpetuating these disparities.

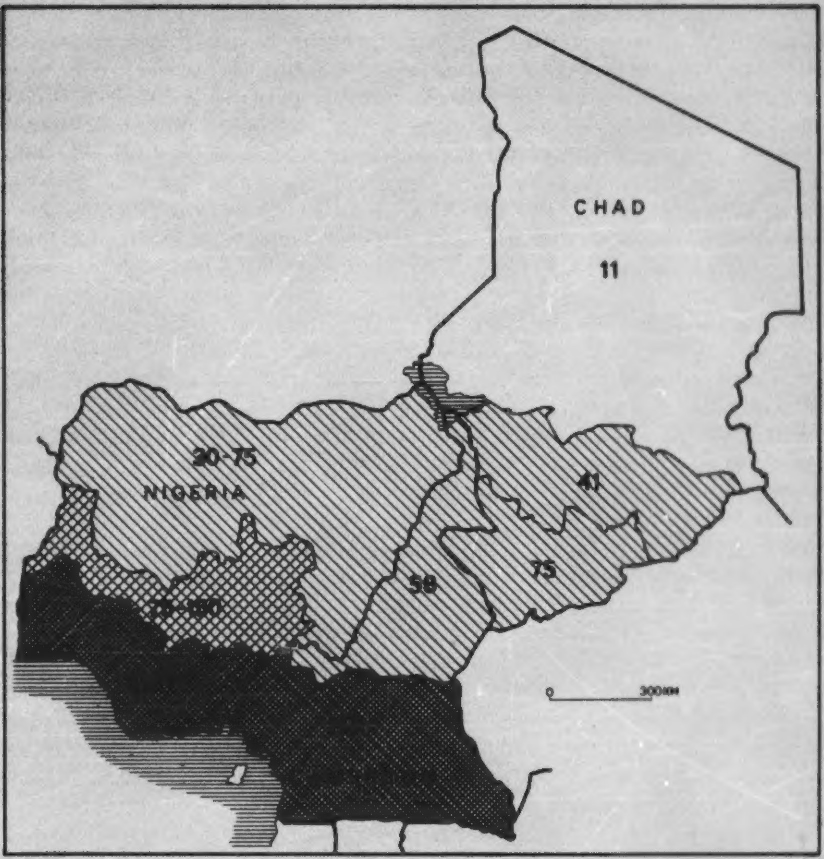
Like most countries in the Sahel, Chad is underdeveloped in terms of education (48 per thousand in 1974/75). Moreover, performance is very low, as was shown by a study conducted by IEDES in 1967:[1] for every 1,000 pupils enrolling in the first primary grade, less than half (449) move up to the second grade, 312 reach 6th grade, 121 obtain their CEPE and only 64 go on to the secondary level.[2] Lastly, as we have seen, this educational underdevelopment is not uniform throughout the regions and the disparities are diminishing only very slowly. The three zones shown on the map are those mentioned earlier, i.e. North, Centre and South.[3] In 1974/75 the pattern of primary school enrolment was as shown in Table 11.[4]

[1] In *Les rendements de l'enseignement du 1er degré en Afrique francophone*, T. III, Analyses nationales, 2ème partie.

[2] These performance levels are slightly higher than those for the North and East regions of Cameroon for the same period, but much below the national average for Cameroon (cf. A. Labrousse, op. cit.).

[3] The Northern zone comprises the *préfectures* of Ouaddai, Biltine, Batha, Kanem, Lac and B.E.T. (Borkou, Ennedi, Tibesti); the Central zone comprises Chari-Baghirmi, Guera and Salamat; the Southern zone comprises Mayo-Kebbi, Tandjilé, West Logone, East Logone and Central-Chari.

[4] Source: *Educational statistics 1974-1975*, Min. of Ed., Rep. of Chad.



**Map 3.** *Enrolment levels in primary education: Nigeria (1974/75), Cameroon (1971/72), and Chad (1974/75).*

**Table 11.** Primary school enrolment in Chad, 1974/75

| Region | Population | %I | Enrolment in primary education | %II | Index II/I | Enrolment per thousand population (%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| North | 1 293 000 | 32.08 | 14 397 | 7.47 | 0.23 (0.17) | 11 (5) |
| Centre | 840 000 | 20.84 | 34 581 | 17.94 | 0.86 (0.67) | 41 (20) |
| South | 1 897 000 | 47.07 | 143 747 | 74.58 | 1.68 (1.84) | 75 (55) |
| Total | 4 030 000 | 100 | 192 735 | 100 |  | 48 (30) |

The selectivity indices shown in this table give some idea of the extent of inter-regional disparities. The Northern region in particular is way behind. However, on the basis of the figures in brackets, which correspond to the school year 1960/61, one can see that the situation has improved during these fifteen years and that the more backward regions have caught up somewhat; though, just as in Cameroon, the progress achieved is not sufficient to justify the hope that these gaps can be closed in the near future.

These disparities in primary education are reflected in secondary education, but they follow a different pattern. The figures for state education in 1974/75 are given in Table 12.[1] The North and, in particular, the Centre have a better position than at the primary level, with the Centre even being the one with the highest ratio; however, this is due to special conditions related to the urban pattern. The North owes its position to the town of Abeche (Ouadaï) whose Lycée Franco-Arab alone accounts for 695 students, i.e. 51 per cent of enrolment in the region and 6 per cent of total enrolment. In the Centre, the town of N'djamena alone accounts for 3,275 students, i.e. 87.5 per cent of enrolment in the region and 28 per cent of total enrolment.

TABLE 12. Secondary school enrolment in Chad, 1974/75

| Region | Enrolment in secondary education | %II | II/I |
|---|---|---|---|
| North | 1 362 | 11.04 ( 9.04) | 0.34 |
| Centre | 4 311 | 34.96 (34.30) | 1.67 |
| South | 6 658 | 54.0 (56.65) | 1.14 |
| Total | 12 331 | 100 | |

In fact, a line drawn on a map following more or less the Chari river from the Central African Empire to Lake Chad divides Chad into two educational zones (see Map 4). To the south-west of this line lie the former colonial administrative regions of Mayo-Kebbi (which at the time included the former Fort-Lamy), Logone and Moyen-Chari. This zone comprises about 50 per cent of the population but provides 84.30 per cent of the enrolment in secondary education. The zone north-east of the Chari provides only 15.70 per cent, of which it must be remembered 6 per cent are at Abeche.

As far as Nigeria is concerned, the enrolment level for 1973 was estimated at 78 per thousand,[2] which is higher than the figure for Chad but much lower than that for Cameroon.[3] As has already been said, this average figure conceals

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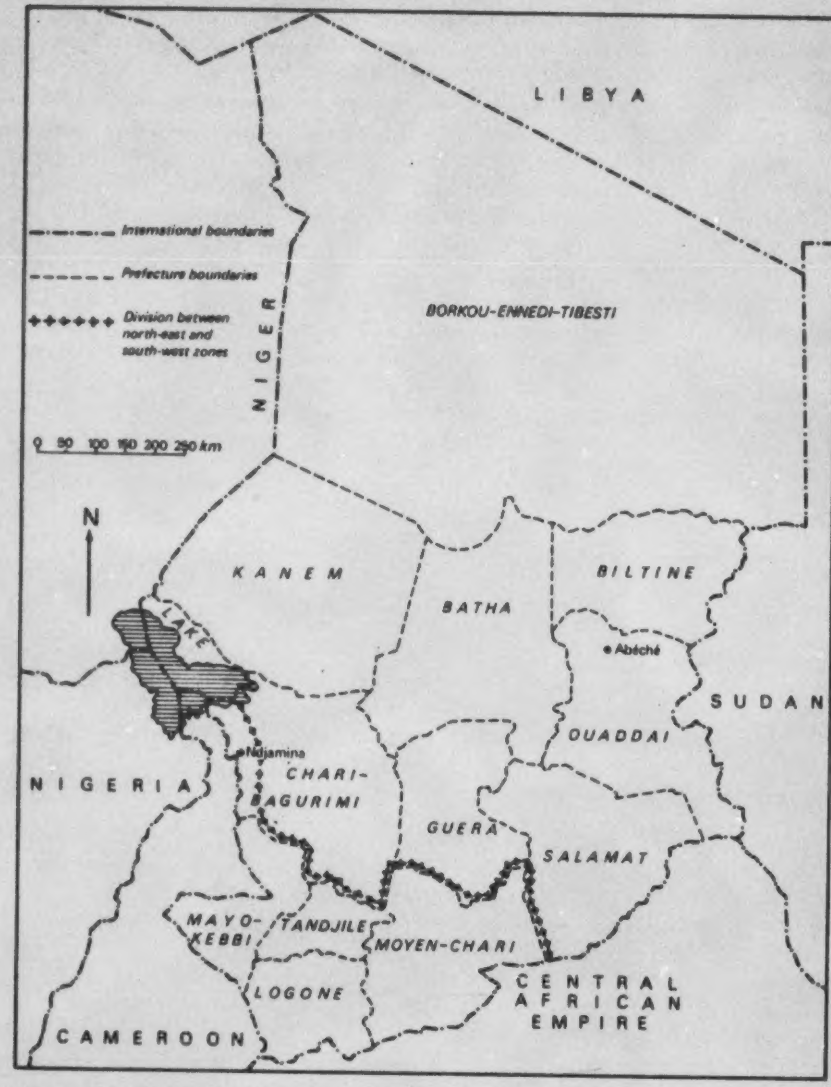
1. This table gives the figures for 'apparent' secondary education, but this differs little from the true level of secondary education.
2. Source: Unesco, *Statistical Tables: Africa*, Dec. 1975, CCR.E.17.
3. According to the above source, the level in 1973 was 164 per 1000 for Cameroon and 51 per 1000 in Chad.


LIBYA
NIGER
International boundaries
Prefecture boundaries
Division between north-east and south-west zones
0 50 100 150 200 250 km
N
BORKOU-ENNEDI-TIBESTI
KANEM
BATHA
BILTINE
LAKE
Abéché
SUDAN
OUADDAI
Ndjamina
CHARI-BAGURIMI
NIGERIA
GUERA
SALAMAT
MAYO-KEBBI
TANDJILE
MOYEN-CHARI
LOGONE
CAMEROON
CENTRAL AFRICAN EMPIRE

MAP 4. *Chad: limits of north-east and south-west zones.*

TABLE 13. Primary education in Nigeria, 1971

| Region | Population[1] %I | Enrolment in primary education | %II | II/I |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Northern | 53.6 | 767 895 | 19.7 | 0.36 |
| Eastern | 22.3 | 1 596 989 | 41.0 | 1.83 |
| Western | 23.0 | 1 288 796 | 33.1 | 1.43 |
| Lagos | 1.1 | 240 769 | 6.2 | 5.63 |
| Total | 100 | 3 894 539 | 100 | |

[1] These percentage figures are derived from the 1963 census (when Nigeria's population was 55,600,000) and therefore only serve as an indication.

SOURCE *Statistics of Education in Nigeria*, Federal Ministry 1971, Series II, Vol. IV.

regional disparities—in 1971 the regional breakdown for primary education was as shown in Table 13.

As will be seen from the selectivity indices, the Northern region is far behind the West and even further behind the East. The figure for Lagos needs to be considered separately, because this is a region which consists basically of one town, i.e. Lagos, the Federal capital, and which has therefore no rural population.

In contrast to what we have seen happening in the neighbouring countries, the Northern region of Nigeria is developing very rapidly. It has, however, considerable leeway to make up, as may be seen from Table 14, which shows the regional trends over a period of 20 years.

The ten years which followed the grant of self-government (1952) marked the major period of educational expansion within the Federation. During this period the country as a whole progressed at an annual rate of 17.2 per cent. This progress was relatively uniform throughout the regions, with Lagos and the North in the lead. During the next ten years (1962-1971) the pace slowed

TABLE 14. Trends in primary education enrolment, Nigeria, 1952-71

| Region | Enrolment in primary education | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1952 | 1962 | % increase 1952-62 | 1971 | % increase 1962-71 |
| Northern | 122 034 | 359 934 | 19.5 | 767 985 | 12.6 |
| Eastern | 518 966 | 1 266 566 | 14.4 | 1 596 989 | 2.9 |
| Western | 400 000 | 1 109 000 | 17.7 | 1 288 796 | 1.8 |
| Lagos | ... | 98 511 | 23.7[1] | 240 769 | 16 |
| Total | 1 041 010 | 2 834 010 | 17.2 | 3 894 539 | 4.15 |

[1] 1955-62.

SOURCE *Statistics of Education in Nigeria*, 1963, Series I; Callaway & Musone, 1968.

considerably, particularly in the two Coastal regions where it was slower than population growth. The Northern region, however, maintained a high growth rate (12.6 per cent), which enabled it to begin closing the gap between it and the rest of the country, as the following figures show:

| | | 1952 | 1962 | 1971 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Difference: | Eastern-Northern: | 396,932 | 906,632 | 839,004 |
| Difference: | Western-Northern: | 277,966 | 749,934 | 520,811 |

However, one fact needs to be borne in mind: for the North to reach a level of enrolment equivalent to that of the Southern section of the country, its school population would need to exceed the combined total for the other regions—which would mean a fourfold increase.

Following the traditional pattern, the disparities at the primary level reappear in the secondary—and to an increased extent. The figures for general secondary education in 1971 are given in Table 15.[1]

TABLE 15. Enrolment in general secondary education, Nigeria, 1971

| Region | Population[1] %I | Enrolment in secondary education | %II | II/I |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Northern | 53.6 | 51 512 | 15.0 | 0.27 |
| Eastern | 22.3 | 92 547 | 26.96 | 1.20 |
| Western | 23.0 | 171 411 | 43.93 | 2.17 |
| Lagos | 1.1 | 27 843 | 8.12 | 7.38 |
| Total | 100 | 343 313 | 100 | |

1. See note to Table 13.
SOURCE As Table 13.

It can be seen that the Northern region lags even further behind at this level than at the primary. Lagos has also increased its lead, but it can be assumed that this is due, to a large extent, to the influx of population into this town, the students from outside the town being more numerous than those from within. It will also be noted that the Eastern and Western regions have changed places, with the West now ahead of the East. Finally, this table is an accurate reflection of the degree of urbanisation within the different regions. However, it shows only the number of students attending the region's schools, without specifying where they come from. The official statistics of the Federal Republic do however provide such information in the case of students in higher education—in 1971/72 the figures were those in Table 16.

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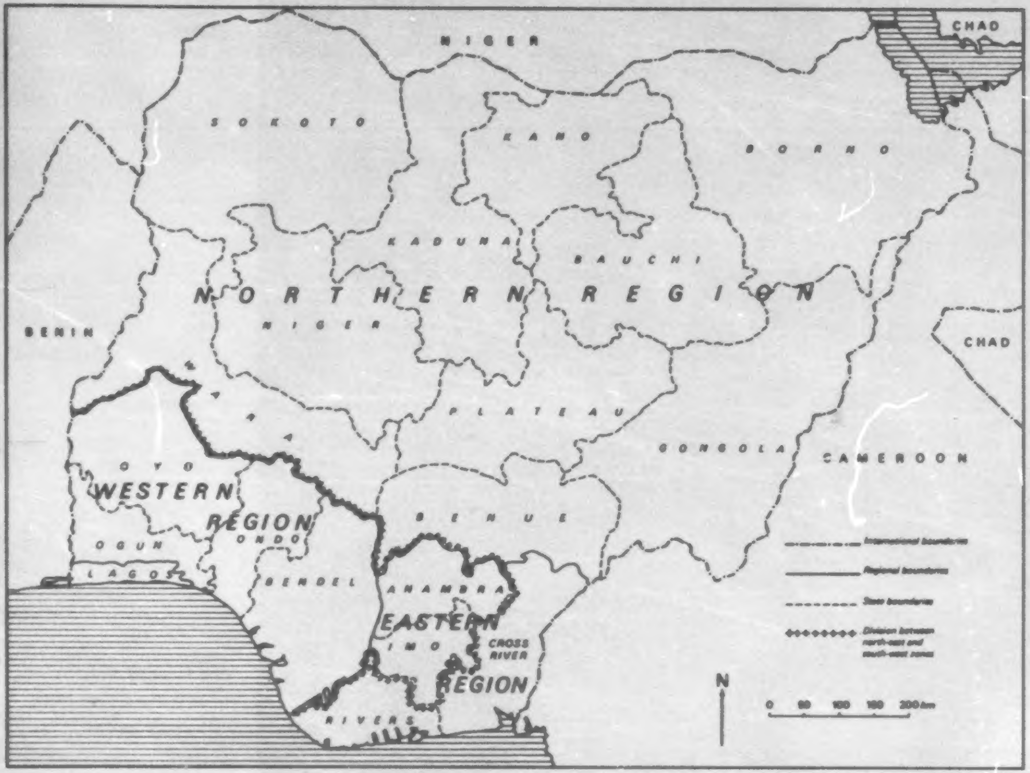
[1] The output from primary education in the different regions is no more uniform than the level of enrolment. Two features however do merit comment: regions with the highest enrolment rates are not always those with the highest output (sometimes quite the reverse is true, as in the West and in the Kano region); secondly, there is no correlation between output from primary education and transition into the secondary level. Cf. Hawes and Aarons, *Curriculum and curriculum development in Nigeria*.

TABLE 16. Enrolment in higher education, Nigeria, 1972/72

| Region | Enrolment in higher education | %II | II/I |
|---|---|---|---|
| Northern | 3 347 | 23.72 | 0.44 |
| Eastern | 4 614 | 32.72 | 1.46 |
| Western | 5 750 | 40.76 | 1.77 |
| Lagos | 394 | 2.80 | 2.54 |
| Total | 14 105 | 100 | |

SOURCE As Table 13.

Curiously enough, regional educational disparities in Nigeria are less pronounced in higher education. This is the outcome of a deliberate policy of creating regional university residences. It will, however, be noted that the Northern region is still way behind. Nigeria, like Cameroon and Chad, can be divided into two scholastic regions (or rather university regions, since our figures concern only higher education). If one draws a line dividing the former Western and Lagos regions plus part of the Eastern region (i.e. the present states of Lagos, Ogun, Oyo, Ondo, Bendel, Anambra and Imo) from the rest of the country, the zone to the south-west of this line, which includes less than 40 per cent of the total population, provided close on 70 per cent (68.19) of university students in 1971 (see Map 5, overleaf).


NIGER
CHAD
SOKOTO
KANO
BORNO
KADUNA
BAUCHI
NORTHERN REGION
NIGER
BENIN
KWARA
PLATEAU
CHAD
GONGOLA
CAMEROON
OYO
WESTERN REGION
BENUE
OGUN
ONDO
LAGOS
BENDEL
ANAMBRA
EASTERN REGION
IMO
CROSS RIVER
RIVERS
N
International boundaries
Regional boundaries
State boundaries
Division between north-east and south-west zones
0 50 100 150 200 km

MAP 5. *Nigeria: limits of north-east and south-west zones.*

# III. Regional disparities and social inequalities

So far we have managed to draw up an inventory of the regional disparities and identify the processes which to a certain extent explain their creation and their reproduction. We have also seen how these educational disparities form part of global disparities. The task now is to discover the relationship between this regional stratification and the structure of educational disparities within the social structure of the country as a whole. Are these regional inequalities an accurate reflection of the social inequalities of an ethnic, rural *v*. urban or socio-professional kind in terms of education? All the data which we have presented so far are based on statistical averages which can conceal an underlying dissimilarity which concerns not only patterns of behaviour *within* the educational system, but around it and in connection with it. The different dimensions of the intra-regional disparities with regard to education will form the subject of this third chapter.

## A. The rural *v*. urban origin

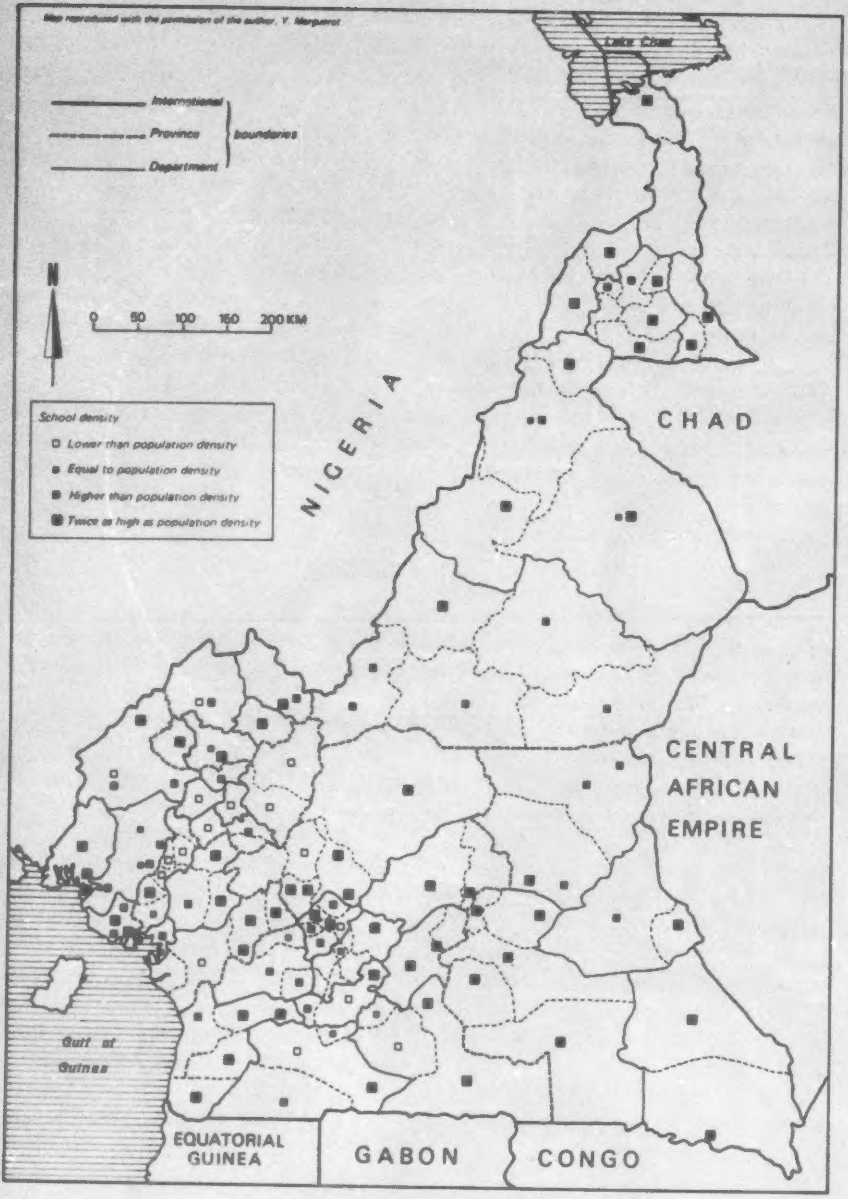
The first dimension concerns unequal participation in the educational system as a result of one's rural or urban origin. This cleavage is perfectly in keeping with the logic of educational development, which is itself inseparable from the logic of urban development. The school is an institution designed *by* and *for* urban society. It inculcates an urban ideology and leads to employment of an urban kind.

Historically, in Cameroon (and elsewhere) education was developed mainly in the towns and spread down through the different levels of the urban structure to reach rural areas last of all, with secondary education following the same pattern, fed first of all by students living in the towns. What is the situation today? It varies according to the level of education.

It was after the Second World War—following the Brazzaville Conference—that measures were decided with regard to mass primary education in Cameroon, and it was from that time that enrolment increased at a more rapid rate. To what extent has this growth affected rural areas? Y. Marguerat (op. cit.) analysed this situation in detail in 1970. Firstly, he worked out what percentage of students in a district 'attended school' in the main town(s) and, by subtraction, the numbers in the 'bush'. He then compared this rural *v*. urban distribution of students with the levels of enrolment. He discovered a very clear pattern: 'the regions with the highest overall levels of enrolment are those where enrolment in remote rural areas is also highest' (p. 8), i.e. Central-Southern (Bulu, Ewondo, Bane, Basa, Bafia, and Yambassa country) and West (Bamileke country). By contrast, 'districts with lower enrolment levels are those where the less-advanced rural areas are to be found'. Exceptions to this are the highly urbanised regions such as the Coastal belt, where the towns (e.g. Douala) tend to absorb the rural population, giving a (relatively) low rural enrolment. The reverse is equally true—regions with a low degree of urbanisation and a high proportion of rural population (as for example, the base of the extreme northern triangle of Cameroon) have a proportionately good spread of primary education in the country areas.

Y. Marguerat also calculated the relation between school density and population density per district for the urban centres. The result was the very interesting map reproduced as Map 6, which highlights several features of the rural *v*. urban cleavage: of the 118 urban centres (chief towns), 102 have a school density equal to or higher than their population density. Of these, 10 have an equal density, 31 a higher density (less than twice) and 61 a density twice as high. However, several comments are called for with regard to the nature and distribution of the 26 urban centres with a school density lower than or simply equal to their population density. Firstly, they are for the most part located in zones which are both the most heavily urbanised and with the highest levels of enrolment. Secondly, they are the only ones which can justifiably be termed towns, since they include the country's two major cities and some 15 *préfectures* (regional administrative centres). There are several explanations for these anomalies. The situation in the two major cities is due to the nature of the country's administrative divisions; the city of Douala contains almost all the schoolchildren and almost all the population of the Wouri Department, whilst Yaoundé contains half the schoolchildren and half the population of the Mefou Department. In the case of the other towns—and to a certain extent Yaoundé—the situation is due to the type of rural exodus which they cause; for the most part they attract young adults who, although they have nearly all attended school since they come from rural zones where enrolment is high, inflate the figure for the urban non-school-age population. Thus, these apparent anomalies are not in contradiction with the educational predominance of these towns. This predominance is even more marked in the case of secondary education.

The school 'supply' in terms of secondary education is concentrated in the towns, since almost all the secondary schools are to be found in the *préfectures*. The bulk of the secondary-school population is located in the larger urban centres, namely Douala 10,496, Yaoundé 9,748, Bafoussam 4,094 and Nkongsamba 3,833 out of a national total of 65,352 (figures for the year 1971/72). Thus, four towns account for more than 43 per cent of the secondary-school


Map reproduced with the permission of the author, Y. Marguerat
International
Province
Department
boundaries
N
0
50
100
160
200 KM
School density
▫ Lower than population density
▪ Equal to population density
■ Higher than population density
■ Twice as high as population density
Lake Chad
NIGERIA
CHAD
CENTRAL AFRICAN EMPIRE
Gulf of Guinea
EQUATORIAL GUINEA
GABON
CONGO

MAP 7. Relation between school density and population density per district.

population. Unfortunately, data are not available as to the rural *v.* urban origin of the students. However, there is every reason to believe that town-dwellers are over-represented in secondary education because they are already so in primary education. It should also be pointed out that *lycée* and college students from rural areas will rarely if ever return. A survey carried out in 1969[1] amongst all the third-year students in state schools in East Cameroon does however provide some figures in this connection. Out of the 2,153 students concerned, only 26.30 per cent lived as boarders and 8.50 per cent in rented accommodation. Of the remainder, 38.12 per cent lived with a member of their family (parents, etc.) and 26.21 per cent with a guardian or friend. Thus, 61 per cent of the students were from outside, but almost half of these had a more or less direct link with the town. This family connection is to be found most frequently in the Central-Southern (49.06 per cent) and Coastal (44.18 per cent) regions. More detailed information is in fact available for the North region:[2] in 1969 the population living in urban centres (i.e. *préfectures* and *sous-préfectures*), which account for 10.28 per cent of the total population, provided 28.15 per cent of the children in primary schools and 42.17 per cent of those in secondary schools.

## B. The ethnic origin

The second dimension of the inequalities with regard to schooling is the person's ethnic origin. This is by no means a false problem, since there is an obvious ethnic behaviour pattern with regard to education (particularly, although not exclusively, in the backward regions) which manifests itself in the form of an unequal participation in the educational system on the part of the various ethnic groups. These inequalities, which may be considerable, both overlie and condition the regional inequalities. They are, as we shall see later, partly linked to differences in the degree of integration within urban society.

With the exception of the West, where the Bamileke are predominant, the regions of Cameroon comprise a wide variety of ethnic groups. In our description of these various regions we were able to give only a rough indication of this, but in fact no less than 13 major ethnic groups and almost 180 sub-groups have been identified. Most of these sub-groups have their own vernacular. It is extremely difficult to obtain precise figures as to the level of primary enrolment for all these groups. An approach by department and by district does however provide some clues, since in any one region there are internal disparities which may reflect the presence of a given majority group within one or other administrative unit. (The figures in the following paragraphs are per 1,000 inhabitants.)

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[1] Unpublished survey carried out by the Department of School and University Guidance of the Ministry of Education in Cameroon.

[2] Cf. J.-Y. Martin, *Inégalités régionales et inégalités sociales: l'enseignement secondaire au Cameroun septentrional.*

In the Central-Southern region (average primary enrolment 209) the highest enrolment level (265) is to be found in the Department of Nyong and Kelle, where the population is almost entirely Basa. The lowest enrolment rate is in the Upper Sanaga (154), which comprises various tribes (e.g. Fong, Yebeka, Yesum, Voute). As far as the districts are concerned, the one with the highest enrolment is Obala (296), where the Eton (Beti group) predominate, and the lowest enrolment is in the Yoko district (90), where the Voute predominate.

In the Littoral region (average 189), at one extreme is the district of Pouma (281) with its Basa majority, and at the other, Melong (138), where the Mbo are the most numerous.

In the West (average 214) there is a marked difference between the Bamum Department (190) inhabited by the Bamum and the other five departments, predominantly Bamileke, where the figure varies between 204 and 233.

One can therefore see that marked ethnic variations exist in regions with high enrolment levels. They are even more obvious in the more backward zones such as the North-West province (average 125) where the figures per district range from 180 (Kumbo, where the population is primarily Nso) to 77 (Ndop, where the population is almost entirely Ndop). For the North region (average 58) more detailed information is available; Table 17 shows the enrolment levels for the main ethnic groups.

TABLE 17. Enrolment levels of main ethnic groups

| Ethnic group | Population %I | Enrolment in primary education (%II) | II/I |
|---|---|---|---|
| Highlanders | 24.28 | 8.42 | 0.34 |
| Fulani | 21.99 | 20.05 | 0.91 |
| Massa | 6.25 | 2.68 | 0.42 |
| Toupouri | 5.53 | 7.34 | 1.32 |
| Guiziga | 3.56 | 2.10 | 0.58 |
| Moundang | 2.45 | 5.42 | 2.21 |
| Choa | 3.24 | 0.93 | 0.28 |
| Kotoko | 1.81 | 2.27 | 1.25 |

SOURCE J.-Y. Martin, *Inégalités régionales*, op. cit.

From this table it will be seen that the ratio difference (1.93) between the extremes (Moundang 2.21 and Choa 0.28) is far greater than that which exists between the two regional extremes, i.e. 1.02 (West 1.40, North 0.38—see Table 2). The present enrolment level for the Moundang can, in all probability, be reckoned at between 150 and 200, a level close to that for the Coastal region (189), while that for the Choa and the highlanders is about 25.

For Cameroon as a whole, the inter-ethnic disparities have been most thoroughly catalogued in the case of secondary education. In the case of West

Cameroon, a study by C. and G. Courade[1] shows that there is a direct correlation between the distance of an ethnic group from the coast and its percentage share of secondary education. Thus, the following groups were over-represented (in 1969/70): the Bakweri (selectivity index: 4.94), the Banyang (3.28) and the Bakossi (3.14), all ethnic groups from the South-West province. In contrast, almost all the ethnic groups from the North-West province are under-represented. In the case of French-speaking Cameroon, Y. Marguerat (op. cit.) was able to trace the ethnic origin of candidates for the *baccalauréat*. He related this to the number of inhabitants and mapped the zones with a similar 'output' of candidates (see Map 8). What results from this is an ethnic 'hierarchy' and it is easy to see how this corresponds with the different regions and relates to the distance from the coast:

Zone A (6 candidates on average per 10,000 inh.): Basa (7 candidates for the Basa and Bakoko alone);
Zone B (5): Bamileke;
Zone C (3): Boulou, Ntumu;
Zone D (2): Ewondo, Eton, Bafia; this zone includes the town of Yaoundé where the size of the over-school-age immigrant population lowers the average for the Beti who are therefore underestimated;
Zone E (2): basically the town of Douala, with a large adult immigrant population like Yaoundé. The average for the Douala (in the strict sense) is therefore underestimated and should be equivalent to that for the Basa;
Zone F (1): zone with a predominantly Bamileke immigrant population;
Zone G (1): Sanaga, Yebekolo, Voute, Bafeuk;
Zone H (0.8): Bamoum;
Zone I (0.3): Maka, Kaba, Baya;
Zone J (0.04.): the entire Northern region. This ratio of 0.04 represents 5 candidates (2 Fulanis, 1 Kotoko and 2 of undetermined ethnic origin) for 1,340,000 inh. (in 1969). In fact, the main Northern groups were represented in the following proportions in secondary education for the same year:

| Ethnic group | Enrolment in secondary education | Selectivity index |
|---|---|---|
| Highlanders | 7.96 | 0.32 |
| Fulani | 23.14 | 1.05 |
| Massa | 7.78 | 1.24 |
| Toupouri | 7.96 | 1.43 |
| Guiziga | 2.90 | 0.81 |
| Moundang | 10.29 | 4.20 |
| Choa | 0.18 | 0.05 |
| Kotoko | 1.93 | 1.06 |

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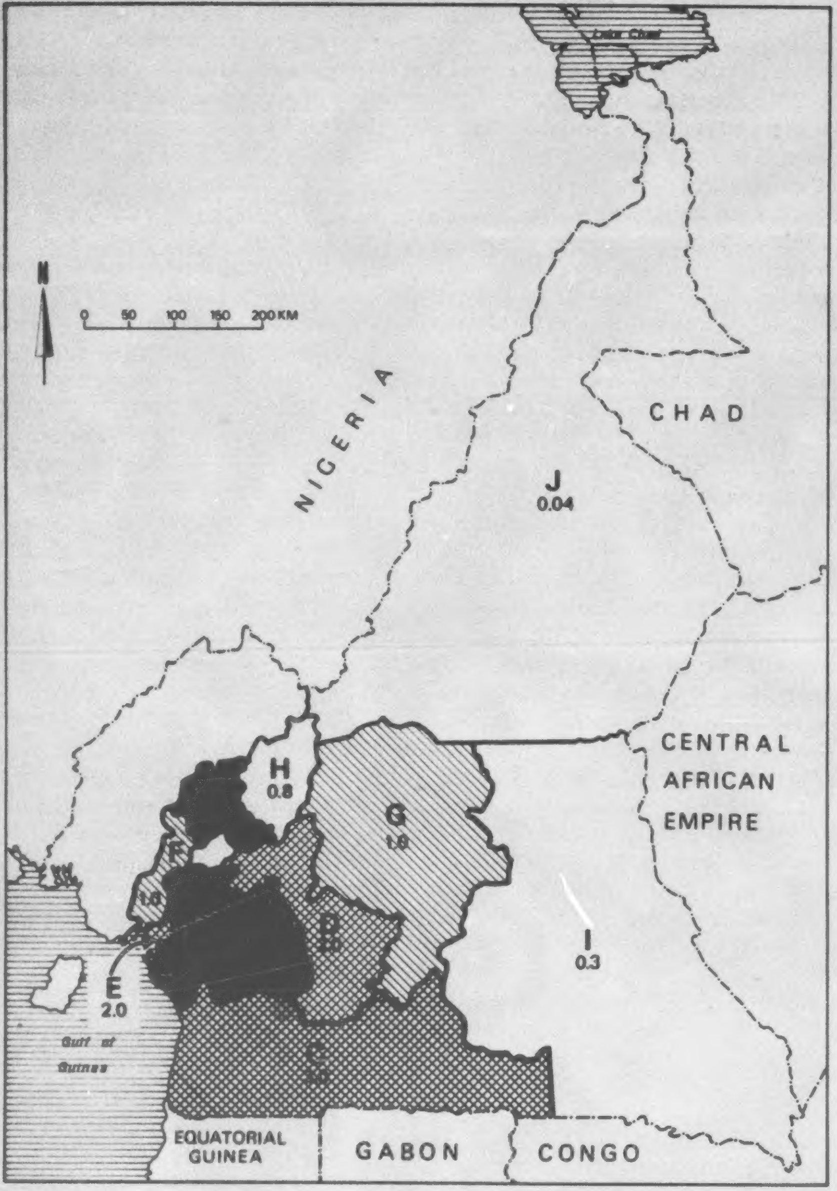
[1] C. and G. Courade, *L'école au Cameroun anglophone*.


Lake Chad
N
0 50 100 150 200 KM
NIGERIA
CHAD
J
0.04
CENTRAL
AFRICAN
EMPIRE
H
0.8
G
1.0
F
1.0
D
I
0.3
E
2.0
Gulf of
Guinea
EQUATORIAL
GUINEA
GABON
CONGO

MAP 8. *Cameroon: number of candidates for the baccalauréat per 1,000 inhabitants, 1969.*

It is obvious that in this case it is not the distance from the coast which differentiates the ethnic groups since, for example, the Guiziga (0.81) and the Moundang (4.20) are neighbours, as are the Choa (0.05) and the Kotoko (1.06), the two most northerly groups. There is therefore an ethnic educational pattern in addition to the regional educational pattern.

## C. The socio-professional origin

The third dimension of these educational disparities concerns the socio-professional origin. The socio-professional categories (S.P.C.) are normally the same ones as those used by INSEE in France. Although these categories are somewhat ambiguous, since they refer to types of occupation and a scale of income which are not necessarily equivalent or applicable to the situation, they do give some useful indication with respect to a certain form of socio-professional stratification whose rural *v*. urban connotations are obvious.

Table 18, derived from the survey carried out in 1969-70 (see footnote on p. 78), gives the socio-professional origin of students in the 3rd grade per region. This table calls for several comments. First, it will be seen that in a country which is four-fifths rural (level of urbanisation = 21 per cent) the farming category only accounts overall for 57.48 per cent.[1] If one adds to this the next category (i.e. craftsmen/shopkeepers), which more or less covers the traditional, non-salaried (which does not mean non-monetarised) rural sector, one obtains a figure of 65 per cent. This sector is therefore under-represented. In the other sector, one notes the importance of Categories 5 and 6 (25.89 per cent), i.e. public and private sector employment requiring at least the primary-school leaving certificate. The specifically urban categories are thus clearly over-represented. Secondly, when one looks at the figures region by region, one notes that there are substantial variations which, aside from the degree of representation for any given region, reveal the extent of socio-professional differentiation in relation to the degree of urbanisation.

The somewhat fragmentary data on higher education reveals even more marked disparities. In 1973/74 the socio-professional origin of students in the Arts Faculty at the University of Cameroon (Yaoundé) was as shown in Table 19. This table cannot be directly compared with Table 18, since the categories used are not identical. None the less, the farmer category accounts for only 32.7 per cent here as against 57.48 per cent on the previous table.

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[1] Looking at this from another viewpoint, one could regard this percentage as very high, although already indicative of a process of under-representation of the rural community. However, this index of the educational system's 'accessibility' is the sign only of a certain stage in its development—where, mathematically, it can be nothing else but accessible—and in no way denotes its nature.

TABLE 18. Socio-professional origin of students in the third grade in state schools in West Cameroon (1970)

| Socio-professional origin | West | | Central-Southern | | Littoral | | East | | North[1] | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | % | Number | % | Number | % | Number | % | Number | % | Number | % |
| 1. Farmers-stockbreeders-fishermen | 386 | 73.38 | 265 | 47.48 | 216 | 43.63 | 67 | 60.90 | 200 | 69.67 | 1 134 | 57.48 |
| 2. Craftsmen-shopkeepers | 36 | 6.84 | 48 | 8.59 | 47 | 9.48 | 6 | 5.44 | 14 | 4.87 | 151 | 7.53 |
| 3. Notables | 0 | — | 6 | 1.07 | 8 | 1.61 | 1 | 0.90 | 9 | 3.13 | 24 | 121 |
| 4. Skilled/unskilled workers | 21 | 3.99 | 48 | 8.60 | 52 | 10.52 | 8 | 7.27 | 26 | 9.05 | 155 | 7.84 |
| 5. Salaried employees-Govt. workers | 66 | 12.54 | 126 | 22.58 | 108 | 21.81 | 23 | 20.90 | 28 | 9.75 | 351 | 17.76 |
| 6. Senior executives-Politicians | 17 | 3.23 | 65 | 11.64 | 64 | 12.92 | 5 | 4.53 | 10 | 3.47 | 161 | 8.13 |
| Total | 526 | 100 | 558 | 100 | 495 | 100 | 110 | 100 | 287 | 100 | 1 976 | 100 |
| Non-response | 46 | | 49 | | 60 | | 13 | | 10 | | 178 | |
| Total enrolment | 572 | | 607 | | 555 | | 123 | | 297 | | 2 154 | |
| Degree of urbanisation[2] | | 20% | | 22% | | 58% | | 13% | | 10% | | 21% |

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1. A survey of students in the 3rd, 5th and final grades in state and private schools in the North gave the following percentages for the same year: 1—71.77%, 2—7.17%, 3—6.21%, 4—6.01%, 5—5.82%, 6—2.69% (J.-Y. Martin, *Inégalités régionales*, op. cit.).
2. I.e. the percentage of the population living in urban centres (mainly *préfectures* and *sous-préfectures*).

TABLE 19. Socio-professional origin of students in the Arts Faculty, University of Cameroon (Yaoundé), 1973/74

| Socio-professional category of parents | Number | % |
|---|---|---|
| Liberal professions, senior executives | 47 | 3.9 |
| Middle executive grades, technicians | 138 | 11.4 |
| Salaried employees | 151 | 12.5 |
| Shopkeepers, craftsmen | 42 | 3.5 |
| Wage-earners | 258 | 21.4 |
| Farmers | 394 | 32.7 |
| Miscellaneous | 176 | 14.6 |
| Total | 1 206 | 100 |

In the final analysis, despite the incompleteness of the data available with regard to the various aspects of the disparities in the educational system, two major tendencies are however clear: firstly, whatever dimension one takes, it is apparent that these disparities become more marked as one moves from one level of education to the next; secondly, the three aspects of these disparities which we have highlighted are not only complementary but, one might even say, consubstantial. One of them in fact—that which concerns the rural *v.* urban origin—provides an explanation for the other two, since they are coupled to it; the ethnic groups best integrated within the towns are those which have forged the strongest links with the education system, particularly at the secondary- and higher-education levels (e.g. the Basa, the Duala, Bamileke and Beti in the south of the country and the Fulani in the north); the specifically urban-oriented socio-professional categories (i.e. those for which a relatively high level of education is essential) are the ones which benefit most from the development of education. We can thus perceive the different elements of an overall process of social differentiation gradually taking shape: urbanisation necessitates and therefore gives rise to education, the school feeds off the town and produces the different strata of urban society, strata which take on a dominant social position *vis-à-vis* the rural community. The educational confusion in rural areas is essential to the survival of these urban strata in their present form. What then is the relation between this process of social differentiation and the regional educational disparities? This becomes fairly apparent through the two extremes of inequality *vis-à-vis* education, i.e. the most fortunate, as we have seen, are those ethnic groups in the South-West which are well entrenched in the towns; the least fortunate are the rural ethnic groups of the north.

It is thus apparent that this inter-regional differentiation, which stratifies the regions, is coupled with an intra-regional differentiation which stratifies the ethnic groups. This second form of differentiation has features which are common to every region, particularly in all that relates to the urban *v.* rural cleavage. The entire national social formation is therefore permeated by a process producing and perpetuating a national bourgeoisie close to the machinery of government and entrenched in the towns. This is the first conclusion to be drawn. The second is that the socio-regional framework has not disappeared as a result. In the first place, a region's lead or lag in terms of education still remains the decisive factor; secondly, this national bourgeoisie is based on regional substructures; and lastly, the functioning of these intra-regional processes follows a pattern which is independent of the forces at work on a national level. The analysis of attempts to reduce these regional disparities, which will form the subject-matter of the following section, will throw some light on this.

## D. The attempts at reducing regional disparities in education

When the African countries achieved independence or self-government their new leaders were by no means oblivious to the problem of regional disparities. However, this problem was not defined in the same manner in every country, nor therefore was a similar policy adopted to remedy it and lastly, these policies evolved with time. Here again, we shall be concentrating our attention on Cameroon, casting a rapid glance at what was happening in the two neighbouring countries. By analysing the seriousness of the attempts made to remedy this problem and the reasons for their failure, we shall be able to throw further light on the real nature of these disparities.

It is obvious that the situation in Cameroon today is not the same as it was fifteen years ago. Regional conditions have changed, as has the attitude towards them, without however there always being a relation of cause and effect between the two. On the one hand, the machinery of government has succeeded in improving its structures and methods of operation whilst, on the other hand, independent means of action have been created. Furthermore, the global situation has also evolved, not only in terms of internal political relationships but also with respect to the form of Cameroon's economic dependence on the outside world. Lastly, the fundamental ideology and thinking with regard to development have changed, particularly concerning the relationship between economic growth and education. The situation inherited from the colonial period, and especially the coincidence between economic development and educational development, encouraged the belief at one time that one needed only to press the educational button to start the process of economic growth. None the less, attempts were made in Cameroon to reduce regional economic and educational disparities. The best way to assess these is to analyse the content and results of the various five-year plans, positioning them—as far as possible—in the general political context of the period.

In 1960, when it became independent, the new state of Cameroon found itself faced with two major problems: national unity (the Bamileke rebellion was still in the forefront of events) and development *v.* underdevelopment—problems which were directly linked with that of regional disparities. The problem of replacing the Europeans in the various positions of responsibility highlighted from the outset the difficulty of an equitable distribution of functions on the basis of regional origin, due to the scarcity of European-trained cadres in certain regions—particularly the North. Two of the *leit-motivs* of Cameroonian politics were to become apparent even at this stage, prior to the existence of any real machinery for analysing these problems and taking action: the precedence of politics over economics and its corollary, the regional-ethnic mix. In this situation, educational development found itself facing a four-fold task: firstly, with the whites gone, the new authority needed to gain acceptance; secondly, the construction of a nation state necessitated a vast labour of welding these different elements into one society—to make the country into a genuine national political entity would mean extending education over the entire territory inherited from their colonial predecessors; thirdly, an equitable distribution of educational opportunities was essential in the interest of national harmony; and, fourthly, educational development should precede development *per se*. Moreover, aside from the constraints of an outward-looking economy, what in the last resort determines an investment decision is not its economic profitability but its political profitability measured against the yardstick of national political harmony.

The first Five-Year Plan for economic and social development (1961-1965) was constructed in feverish haste. It was prepared in less than a year by a firm of French consultants and the regional problem was treated as a side-issue.[1] None the less, at a time when everyone was making a fetish of enrolment levels, the educational disparities were so flagrant that measures were recommended for reducing them.[2] But what was contained in this first Plan? Aside from general recommendations concerning the drawing-up of a code for private education, the introduction of an overall plan for education and the winning of popular support for measures taken in the educational area, the following specific objectives were defined:

1. In departments with satisfactory enrolment levels, maintain these at their present level and direct efforts to an improvement in the quality of enrolment (South, Central and Littoral regions).
2. In departments with satisfactory enrolment levels for boys, maintain these at their present level but raise the enrolment level for girls (Central, Littoral, West and East regions).
3. In departments with low enrolment levels such as Bamum and Adamawa, make a special effort to quicken the pace of enrolment within the existing primary education structure.
4. Launch a programme of *mass education* in the five departments in the North where enrolment levels are very low: pop. 1,040,000, with more than two-thirds living in areas with a population density of over 30 inh./km². The school-age population numbers 229,000 (22 per cent) for an enrolment of

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[1] Cf. A. Valette, op. cit., p. 48.

[2] These measures apply only to the French language system of education.

16,700 (7 per cent). An enrolment level of 66 per cent for boys and 33 per cent for girls would increase the school population by 104,000, which, if the traditional system were maintained, would involve a capital outlay of FCFA 2 billion (2,000 classes × FCFA 1 million) and annual operating costs of FCFA 520 million. In this connection the author of the Plan adds: 'In this case the problem facing Cameroon is identical with the one facing the Republics of Chad and Upper Volta, i.e. the same educational lag, the same lack of financial resources and the same absence of job opportunities'.

5. Include agricultural instruction in first-level schools as rapidly as possible in order to reduce the exodus of youth from country areas to the towns 'where they swell the ranks to the idle and unemployed'.

All these ideas were destined to gain support but, for the time being, in view of the enormous cost involved,[1] the Plan finally adopted was only a watered-down version of this: as a first stage, it was decided to maintain the present 44 per cent level of enrolment in step with population growth; as a second stage, the present level would be increased by 2 per cent in regions where enrolment was inadequate, together with a slight increase in secondary and technical education. Table 20 shows what was achieved by this First Plan. The progress is impressive and growth exceeded forecast, even in the backward regions, but the gap has widened.

TABLE 20. Achievements of the First Plan

| | 1959 | | 1965/66 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Region | Enrolment level (%) | Enrolment | Enrolment level (%) | Enrolment |
| North | 10 | 23 754 | 18.5 | 63 581 |
| East | 51 | 22 871 | 67.5 | 42 354 |
| Central-Southern | 78 | 137 533 | 79.4 | 232 665 |
| Littoral | 80 | 51 762 | 75.6 | 116 194[1] |
| West | 63 | 95 063 | 74.2 | 154 670 |
| Total for East Cameroon | 44 | 330 983 | 56.4 | 609 463 |
| Enrolment per 1000 population | | 103 | | 147 |

1. The Department of Nyong and Kelle was transferred from the Littoral to the Central-Southern region and the Department of Mungo from the West to the Littoral region.

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[1] In 1959 the total operating budget for education in West Cameroon was FCFA 1,699,881,000 (i.e. 14.06% of the total state budget of FCFA 12.85bn.), to which must be added FCFA 10.5 million of capital investment, FCFA 125 million of investment by the French FAC (*Fonds d'aide et de coopération*) and a FAC subsidy of FCFA 145 million to private education, making a grand total of FCFA 2.545 bn., equivalent to 3.2% of GNP in 1959.

The Second Plan (1966-1971) was then put into effect. New aspects of central government policy began to emerge. Regional administrative and supervisory structures were set up—in particular the entire F.I.A. system (Federal Inspectorate of Regional Administration)—but, in true French style, these are only offshoots of the central authority and regional authorities remain very dependent, e.g. deputies and mayors are appointed by the government.[1] These regional bodies (including those in West Cameroon) took part in the preparation of the Second Plan, which resulted in a more equitable distribution of public sector investment but, as will be seen from Table 21, the policy adopted at national level did not take strict account of regional imbalances.

TABLE 21. Second Plan: regional investments (in millions of CFA francs)

| Region | Projects submitted by the regions | | Projects adopted in the Plan | | Per capita average (in francs) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Phase 1 | Phase 2 | Amount | % | |
| North | 20 108 | 20 382 | 17 027 | 16.96 | 11 210 |
| East | 5 683 | 5 627 | 4 501 | 4.48 | 16.550 |
| Central-Southern | 14 480 | 12 774 | 20 263 | 20.18 | 16 400 |
| Littoral | 19 665 | 24 849 | 29 034 | 28.92 | 40 000 |
| West | 10 391 | 12 404 | 11 173 | 11.13 | 14 000 |
| W. Cam. | 21 043 | (21 043) | 18 373 | 18.30 | 16 240 |
| Total | 91 370 | 97 079 | 100 371 | 100 | |

SOURCE A. Valette, op. cit., p. 69.

The authors of the Plan in fact explained the reasons for this: 'Emphasis will be placed on developing the internal economy of the country and inter-regional trade ... but the priority objective of a rapid increase in domestic production so as to ensure greater economic independence will only be achieved if the nation devotes a sufficient proportion of its resources to *productive investment*, in particular by concentrating these available resources in the first instance in those zones and sectors with the greatest potential for development. By the same token, one has to reconcile the need to improve conditions in the backward regions with the rate of progress of the country as a whole. Since resources are limited, they must be allocated carefully so as to obtain the maximum economic return compatible with a reasonable improvement in the different areas of the country. The policy of inter-regional balance will therefore need to be assessed in terms of *equivalent return* on investment as well as in terms of the individual efforts made by persons and groups in each region.'

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[1] Cf. J.L. Morinière, op. cit., p. 202.

By adopting a policy of this nature, the Republic of Cameroon was following the path traced by its colonial predecessors: efforts were concentrated on the growth areas, i.e. the most highly developed regions, just as the French had done following the example of the Germans.

However, the Second Plan did concentrate more on regional disparities with regard to education, as Table 22 shows.

Under the cover of an overall policy objective which defined the role of education as that of developing the individual and preparing him to take his place as a member of society and for the tasks of economic and social progress, the Second Plan, in the chapter devoted to education, defines the overall objectives as follows:

— adapt education and training to the needs of the economy (for the first time, the term 'ruralised' education is used);
— integrate general education and vocational education;
— apply a policy of quality rather than quantity;
— strengthen the links between state and private education;
— develop bilingual instruction at the secondary- and higher-education levels.

Specific objectives were formulated for primary education:

— gradually eliminate over-age students, i.e. those over 13;
— restrict enrolment to children of school age, i.e. between the ages of 6 and 13—in other words, 8 years for a period of 6 years' education, thus allowing two repeat grades;
— maintain present enrolment levels[1] in the Central-Southern and Coastal regions. Those in the East and West are to be raised to 80 per cent, enrolment in the North will be increased from 19 to 27 per cent, and to 70 per cent in West Cameroon.

By the end of the Second Plan's fifth year (1971/72) the educational situation in the regions had evolved as shown in Table 23. If we base our analysis on these figures, as did the authors of the Plan, it is obvious that the Second Plan has not achieved its objectives with regard to primary education (these regional trends were reviewed in detail in the second chapter): on the one hand, the pace of development in regions with high enrolment levels has not been curbed and, on the other hand, despite some progress, targets have not been achieved in the more backward regions of North and West Cameroon.

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[1] In fact, the Second Plan refers to the following figures for the year 1964/65: Central-Southern: 92%; Coastal: 80%; West: 77%; East: 69%; North: 19%; W. Cam.: 44.5%. These figures represent solely the number of pupils aged 6-13 as a percentage of the total number of school-age children in that age group—this total figure per region has been estimated.

TABLE 22. Second Plan: education-training: regional allocation of investment (millions of CFA francs)

| Sub-sector | North | East | Central-Southern | Littoral | West | West Cameroon | Not allocated | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Primary | 625 | 302 | 765 | 248 | 490 | 518 | 400 | 3 348 |
| Secondary | 117 | 35 | 210 | 240 | 365 | 532 | 410 | 1 909 |
| Technical | 304 | 164 | 192 | 154 | 116 | 330 | 40 | 1 300 |
| Higher | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 411 | 1 411 |
| Vocational | 340 | 98 | 369 | 152 | 205 | 690 | 100 | 1 954 |
| Youth Activities, Sport, Pop. Ed. | 21 | 20 | 207 | 156 | 21 | 30 | 15 | 470 |
| Total | 1 407 | 619 | 1 743 | 950 | 1 197 | 2 100 | 2 376 | 10 392[1] |
| Percentage | 17.55 | 7.72 | 21.74 | 11.85 | 14.93 | 26.19 | | |

[1] This figure represents about 9 per cent of the total capital investment in the Second Plan.

TABLE 23. Primary school enrolment rates, 1965/66 and 1971/72

| Region | 1965/66 | 1971/72 |
|---|---|---|
| North | 18.5 | 23.2 |
| East | 67.5 | 81.9 |
| Central-Southern | 79.4 | 94.5 |
| Littoral | 75.6 | 89.1 |
| West | 74.2 | 79.3 |
| East Cameroon | 56.4 | 74.0 |
| West Cameroon | 55.9 | 60.3 |

SOURCE *Primary school statistics 1971-72*. Min. of Ed., Un. Rep. of Cameroon.

By the time the stage had been reached for preparing and putting into operation the Third Plan (1971-1976), i.e. some ten years after independence, several other aspects in the national situation had become more apparent. First of all, the machinery of state, after ten years' experience of government, had refined and extended its means of intervention in the political, economic and social areas[1] to the extent where theoretically it was now able to enforce specific policies, particularly with regard to reducing disparities. However, at the same time, the application of such policies was proving increasingly difficult. With regard to finance, the enormous increase in the school population was resulting in increasingly heavy operating costs. A study covering the period 1964-70[2] revealed the following facts:

- public expenditure on education had grown at an increasingly rapid rate;
- there was a growing imbalance between expenditure on salaries and expenditure on equipment;
- expenditure on education had increased faster than total national expenditure;
- education accounted for a large part of total national expenditure (20 per cent).

This increase in expenditure on education has been paralleled by an increase in the cost of public administration as a whole which, being downstream of the educational system, is in one sense the product of it. Since the country's own resources are limited it has to resort to outside governmental aid, which increases not only the cost but also the country's dependence. Such dependence is even greater when such foreign aid is supplied by private sources which are not concerned with political criteria—with the result that Cameroon is no longer master of its own economic policy.[1] This dependence on the outside world is also reflected in the fact that close on 60 per cent of the country's revenue is derived from export. What is more, wages and salaries in the public sector absorb 50 per cent of the operating budget and are increasing at a rate of 10 per cent per year. In these circumstances, is it realistic to think in terms of restructuring the economy in favour of the rural areas and under-developed regions?

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[1] Technical Ministries (e.g. Plan, Industrial and Commercial Development, Agriculture), five-year planning, separate budget for infrastructures, state-owned companies and mixed-economy enterprises, improvement and development offices etc. Cf. J. Morinière, p. 196.

[2] A. Labrousse, *Les dépenses publiques d'enseignement et de formation*.

Furthermore, as far as 'incentives' are concerned, the results of the Second Plan showed that it was not possible to control the spontaneous trends within the educational system, i.e. it proved impossible either to curb educational demand where it was considered excessive or stimulate it where it was lacking. These spontaneous trends are evident primarily in the area of private education which, by definition, is outside public control. Wherever demand is strong, private education—particularly the non-denominational variety—automatically makes up for a cut-back in the state supply. The state *v.* private breakdown for primary education has already been given (Table 6). The breakdown for secondary education is even more illuminating and significant (Table 24).

TABLE 24. Enrolment in general secondary education per province in 1972/73 broken down between state and private schools (in percentages)

| | | | Private education broken down between | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Province | State | Private | Catholic | Protestant | Non-denom.[1] |
| Central-Southern | 36.73 | 63.27 | 40.80 | 17.20 | 42 (26.56) |
| East | 56.92 | 43.08 | 73.83 | 26.17 | — |
| Littoral | 36.90 | 63.10 | 37.36 | 14.71 | 47.93 (30.23) |
| North | 78.35 | 21.65 | 60.85 | 39.15 | — |
| North-West | 13.70 | 86.30 | 60.72 | 39.28 | — |
| West | 32.91 | 67.09 | 28.06 | 13.08 | 58.86 (39.47) |
| South-West | 19.83 | 80.17 | 30.23 | 42.85 | 26.92 (21.56) |
| Total | 36.67 | 63.33 | 38.84 | 19.28 | 41.88 (26.51) |

[1] The figures in brackets show enrolment in private non-denominational schools as a percentage of the total secondary school population in the region.

This table clearly indicates those regions where there is strong pressure on secondary education (i.e. the Littoral regions plus the Central-Southern and above all the West) and those regions where such pressure is much less apparent—this pressure being indicated by the importance of private non-denominational education.

This then was the context in which the Third Plan was brought into operation. Regionalisation was more marked than in the previous two, in so far as the process of preparing and carrying out certain projects was decentralised and provisional budget limits were set for each province. However, the reduction of regional disparities no longer figures as a specific objective. The planners were counting on an economic 'take-off' (their term) as the result of an improved utilisation of available human and material resources, but with no attempt to change their regional distribution. What this to a certain extent implied therefore was tacit acceptance of the *regional division of labour and resources* in the form in which this had gradually emerged. The government was of course anxious to tackle some of its regional problems, but in the major projects in this area and on which development studies and resources were concentrated, the regions as we know them no longer appear. The four major projects deal in terms of 'zones', i.e. the Littoral zone with Douala; the forest zone in the East; the territories along the path of the Trans-Cameroon railway (currently semi-desert areas) and, lastly, in the North, the Upper Benoue valley where a dam is planned at Lagdo. What is more, 'regional development organisations', with their headquarters in Yaoundé, have been put in charge of these development programmes.

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[1] Cf. P. Hugon, *Analyse du sous-développement en Afrique noire: l'économie du Cameroun.*

The Third Plan's objectives with regard to education echo the overall objectives: 'Education and training will be expected to make an effective contribution to this "take-off" '. Several guidelines have been laid down by the central authority in the interests of 'adapting the educational system to national needs':

> 'The task of education is to train the middle and senior executive personnel needed by the economy.
>
> Above all, education must direct its efforts to training a dynamic and progressively-minded labour force. For this reason emphasis must be put on:
>
> — the ruralisation of primary education,
> — post-primary vocational training and elementary, middle and higher technical education...
> — the training of qualified teachers and instructors'.[1]

Where primary education is concerned, the Third Plan takes as its basic assumption a *spontaneous growth in enrolment*[2] and basically provides for two things:

— the training of a sufficient number of qualified teachers (at present less than 15 per cent);
— a reform of curricula and teaching methods, i.e. emphasis will be put on adapting the educational system to the country's real needs and on the study of the geographic, social and economic environment.

Although the underlying principle of this reform is excellent, it has tended to create a situation in which the education dispensed by the primary school is geared essentially to the child's own environment. Since Cameroon is 80 per cent rural, this reform has been termed the 'ruralisation of education'. However, nothing has as yet been finalised in this respect and so far nothing has been planned with regard to the provision of 'bridges' linking up the different environments and, in particular, to ensure that the town does not become the sole preserve of the town-dwellers, since the explicit objective of this reform was to reduce the rural exodus by encouraging children in rural areas to stay on the land. It would seem however that after a spectacular start this experiment has gradually ground to a halt in favour of a return to traditional forms of education. Over the course of time several major snags became apparent: the cost of applying it to the entire country and to all the primary grades would have been far greater than the cost of continuing to use the already proved methods; the second and most important reason was that, at this particular stage in the development of the national social formation, where the process of welding this into a nation depended primarily on action by the state, this reform would in fact have proved contrary to this fundamental goal of national unity.

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[1] Extract from Presidential Memorandum No. 2/CAB/PR dated 15 April 1970.
[2] Its figures are based on projected trends.

Where secondary education is concerned, the Third Plan devotes its attention, amongst other things, to the heavy concentration of students in the south of the country and states its intention to 'support efforts to increase enrolment in the least favoured regions'. In order to give impetus to this attempt to achieve a balanced regional structure, the plan is to set up a general secondary school (G.S.S.) in at least every chief departmental town throughout the country. In the North, for example, six new G.S.S. (compared with four at present) and two new *lycées* (compared with one at present) will be built. In the meantime, as in the past, various methods have been adopted to facilitate the promotion of a maximum number of cadres from the North, despite the educational lag, e.g. the relaxing of age criteria for entry into the 6th grade, scholarships for higher education, relaxation of the conditions governing the award of a degree and the introduction of quotas for entry to the *Grandes Ecoles* (colleges of university level).

Cameroon does therefore have a policy for reducing regional disparities in education. It can in fact claim to have achieved some success, in particular with regard to the start of a genuine process of school enrolment in the North. One has, however, to admit that the overall situation has changed very little. This policy has in fact run into difficulties of two kinds.

The first is due to the functioning of the education system *per se* and its penetration within each region: on the one hand, the existence of a supply does not automatically create a demand in regions with low enrolment levels where it is affected by various other factors, whereas in other regions the demand creates the supply; on the other hand, even in those cases where demand and supply in regions with low enrolment levels coincide and result in a certain degree of improvement, this still occurs at a slower rate than in those regions where the system is firmly installed.

The second kind of difficulty is the result of economic and financial constraints. The economic development of backward regions is an essential pre-requisite to their educational development and this economic progress is handicapped by the meagre resources of such regions, the slenderness of the country's means and the harsh logic of immediate profitability.

In the two countries bordering on Cameroon, although the situation is different, the problem is similar. In Chad the reduction of the regional disparities in education was, from the time of independence, considered as one of the ways to strengthen national unity. Recent history has shown that this has become not only increasingly vital, but also increasingly difficult. In Nigeria the whole political scene since independence has been dominated by the question of national unity, the balance between the different regions and the division of federal power. As the result of drastic military and political action, the existence of substantial oil deposits (45.1 per cent of GNP in 1975) and a system of educational planning as part of development planning (a system which allows a certain degree of regional freedom with respect to school curricula), Nigeria's Federal Government now has the means to implement a policy aimed at reducing regional disparities in education.

# Conclusions: regional disparities in education and their reproduction

This analysis of regional educational disparities in Cameroon has enabled us to highlight a certain number of features relating to their origin and their nature. First of all, we observed that their origin was related to the type of interaction which took place between colonisers and native social groups, within a socio-regional framework. Secondly, we saw how, as a result of internal processes, these disparities were more marked the higher one went up the educational ladder and that, generally speaking, there was a tendency for these educational disparities to persist. Lastly, we saw how the intra-regional differences bore the imprint of the rural *v*. urban division and that the national pattern of educational inequalities coincided on the whole with socio-economic inequalities. In addition to the case of Cameroon, the examples of Chad and Nigeria have enabled us to point up the relationships between education and the development of a trading economy, an urban life style and system of values (in other words, all that constitutes a rupture with a subsistence economy and traditional ideology). This has also enabled us to underline the political importance of regional imbalances in education. Our analysis of the attempts to reduce these disparities has shown that the educational development of backward regions had not really hindered the reproduction of inter-regional differences. Our present task is to seek some explanation for the persistence and current accentuation of such disparities. To do this, we have to distinguish between factors operating at various levels.

## *1. International relationships of domination*

It would appear that the same type of relationship exists between backward and advanced regions as between developing and developed countries, in the sense that the latter exercise a similar form of domination and exploitation over the former. From the macro-economic viewpoint, the elimination of inter-regional or international disparities encounters the same type of obstacles. We have no intention here of embarking upon an analysis of such obstacles, which stem from an established imbalance. One simply needs to point out the fact that the nature of a country's integration within the international economic order conditions its internal development. An economy geared to the outside world cannot provide the conditions necessary to a balanced internal development. The priority given to supplying agricultural products for export markets and the difficulties involved in financing industrialisation implies siphoning off the wealth of the regions in the interior and according a particular form of development to the Coastal areas, which cannot help but accentuate regional imbalances. However, 'to attempt to reduce these disparities by means of a policy of redressment may well endanger the development of the growth centres and conflict with the fundamental decision in favour of a maximum overall growth rate'.[1] The problem therefore centres around the fundamental choice of a development policy. The relationships of domination at an international level are such that the subject countries have little or no choice as to whether their economy should be geared to the outside world or not. To enable such countries to exercise some form of choice regarding the nature of their own development would necessitate a restructuring of international economic relationships.

However, the relationships within a given country are not all conditioned by its relationships with other countries. The development/under-development dialectic operates between nations. It explains why countries which are subject to the domination of others do not exercise control over their economic policy and find themselves dropping even further behind. This dialectic also operates between the regions within a country but, although the international dialectic has a definite influence on the inter-regional dialectic, it does not explain everything, as some writers would have us believe. It is obvious that there is a functional linkage between developed and under-developed regions: the advanced regions drain off the backward regions' human and material resources, with the result that the gap between them widens, just as it had done during the colonial period. However, these countries have gained their political independence and cannot be reduced to mere cogs in the machinery of international capitalism; some even possess vast oil deposits, and simple macro-economic linkages do not suffice to explain all of the different regional situations. Since independence another factor has begun to operate, particularly in the area of education, and this is the internal dynamic of the national social formations; and here the influence shaping this is the nation state. This is the second factor at work.

### *2. The social structure of a nation and its education system*

Regional disparities in education persist because the conditions which produce them not only still exist but have become so firmly ingrained that they now form part of the social structure. The countries continue to be the victims of a colonial-style exploitation and siphoning-off of their resources, but today this employs the nation states as its intermediary whilst they pursue their own policy objectives with regard to the country's social structure.

The elements which make up the national social formations have emerged as part of an historical process, in particular during the colonial period. It was the colonial powers which carved out the countries. It was their multi-faceted and phased action which produced changes of different kinds and varying degrees within the social groups they encountered. By multiplying the means of communication and the number of towns, by exercising a certain ideological influence via the schools and missions, and by introducing a particular form of administrative organisation, they helped disrupt the traditional system of cultural, legal and political relationships between the traditional groups and began the process of broader contact and intercourse between the ethnic groups. By setting up the basis of a trading economy and by introducing money, they stretched traditional links, undermined group solidarity, individualised relationships, freed labour from the family patterns of subsistence and gradually transformed it into a commodity. With the help of the school and the new administrative and economic structures, individuals were promoted and given positions of privileged intermediaries. In other words, colonisation created a new socio-economic structure within which the various socio-regional groups no longer had the same status; even as early as the pre-colonial period, ethnic groups were beginning to assume a rank based on their relationship with the coast and the European traders. As a result of all these changes, the former master/subject relationships underwent various changes. Some were replaced by new relationships, others were inverted whilst some reappeared but in another form.

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[1] J.L. Lierdeman, in *Disparités régionales et régionalisation dans une économie dominée de faible dimension: analyse de l'expérience ivoirienne*, p. 101.

But, for all these elements to form a truly structured entity, what was lacking was an ideological framework; and it is essentially in this connection that independence has produced the greatest changes. The role of the former colonial powers has now been taken over by a machinery of government which has taken on the task of building a global society in the shape of a nation within the geographical boundaries inherited from colonial partitions. All these social groups throughout the land are now, or are in the process of becoming, linked together within a single political society and it is now possible to speak in terms of national social formations. These national social formations are made up of social structures whose age and nature differ but which are integrated as the result of a deliberate policy on the part of the state. The state, which organises the national territory by co-ordinating the various regions and which acts as the initiator of development strategies, the inspiration behind institutions set up to serve as models and standards, and the guardian of ideological systems, is in advance of economic and social conditions. It directs society to the extent that, viewed from the outside, there appears to be confusion between the state and society as a whole: as far as political structures and ideological functions are concerned, it acts as the global society which is still in embryo. The machinery of state is permeated by a national bourgeoisie, the only social class created and which derives from a mixed middle stratum—made up both of officials and holders of traditional authority—to control, via the various regional echelons, the rural populations themselves strongly marked by regional and ethnic differences. The ruling class is aware that these rural populations are being bled, but its prime concern is with political and economic matters.

The process of structuring these national social formations is carried a stage further by the uneven penetration of a market economy and the spread of new knowledge within the framework of the ideology of development and national construction. The consolidation of regional disparities, above and beyond the specific results of colonial penetration, is the outcome of a gradual introduction of a regional division of labour, a differentiation of socio-economic functions and an unequal relationship with the central authority. The national bourgeoisie reproduces itself in reproducing the entire social pyramid of which it forms the summit.

The school system plays a major role in the maintenance of the state's power through its twin function of shaping ideology and selecting an élite. With regard to shaping ideology, the major themes are the authority of the state and its justification, development and national pride. The most obvious result of the educational procedures employed at the primary level is the freeing of children from the ideological influences of their environment and making them more receptive to the political doctrines put out by the new state authority.[1] From the establishment's point of view therefore it is important to put the maximum number of children through school, even if the majority leave without a certificate. This brings us to the élitist function: the high wastage rate, which we mentioned in connection with primary education in Cameroon, can be interpreted as one of the elements in a process of hyper-selection. The school system makes a rigorous selection of the future members of the national bourgeoisie from amongst the mass of those enrolled and by so doing helps to perpetuate it. The graduate hierarchy can be considered as the matrix for the bureaucratic hierarchy.

The pyramid shown in Figure 8 illustrates the evolution of the system of education in Cameroon since independence, whilst at the same time reflecting the evolution of the national social formation. In 1962/63, i.e. shortly after independence, the enrolment rate in French-speaking Cameroon was 128 per thousand (for all levels of education combined) and the school population was distributed as follows: for every 1000 pupils, 963 were in the primary level, 33 in the first cycle of the secondary level and 3 in the second cycle. Ten years later (1972/73), when the enrolment level had risen to 175 per thousand, one notes that the system has basically changed very little, with the school population being distributed in a similar manner: for every 1000 pupils, 922 are now in the primary level, 65 in the first cycle of the secondary level and 12 in the second cycle. This thus highlights the maintenance of a very broad base (i.e. the first primary grade), a similar pattern of wastage within the primary level and a substantial shrinkage on transition from the primary to the secondary level. There are however changes which are indicative of pressures brought to bear on the system by social groups, e.g. the growth in the numbers in the final primary grade, indicating an increase in the demand for certification and admission into the subsequent level; and the relatively larger proportion of pupils in the

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[1] Cf. J.-Y. Martin, *Appareil scolaire et reproduction des milieux ruraux*.

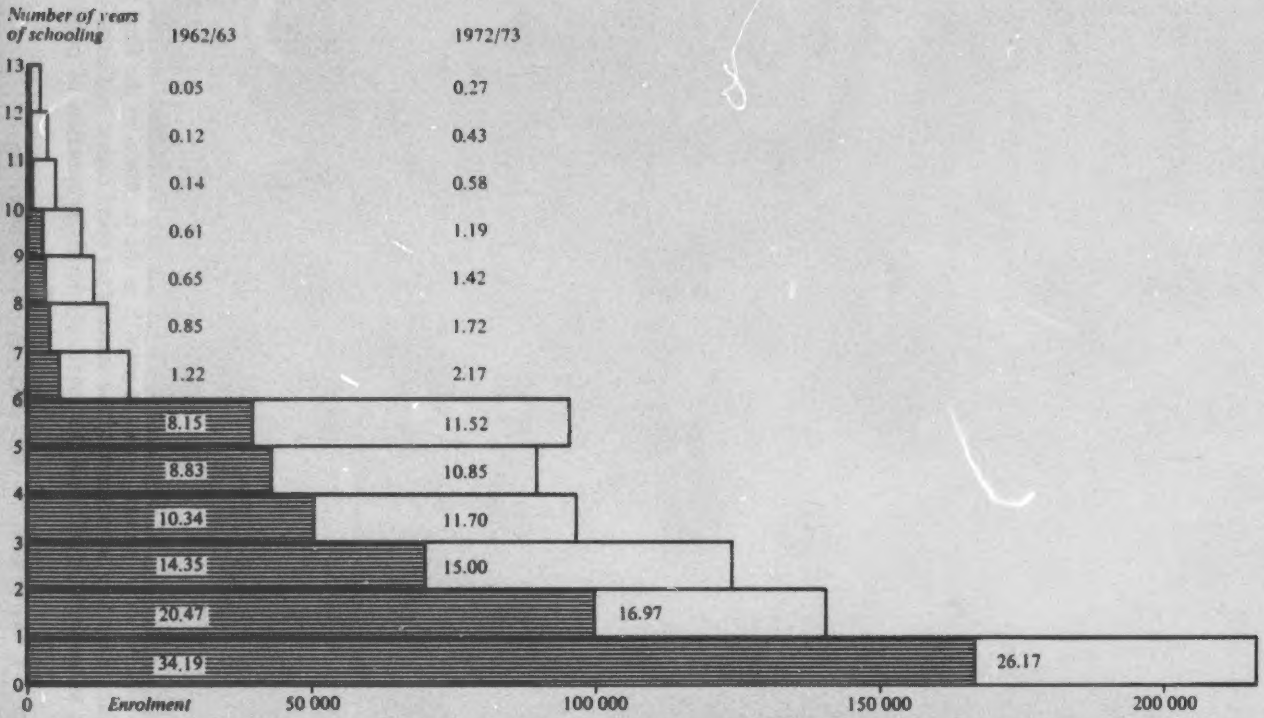

FIGURE 8. *Cameroon: evolution of the French-language system of education.*

secondary level. This last fact can be attributed to the rivalry between the various groups within society as a whole rather than to a genuine widening of the system,[1] particularly when one knows that the development of secondary education has above all benefited the already privileged social classes. This development of secondary education is also known to be due partly to the growth in private, non-denominational education, the main impetus for which came from the groups in the South-Western zone.

The relationships of domination therefore operate as a global influence and the school system acts as part of this. However, we have noticed different features which demonstrate that the establishment is unable to exercise complete control over the educational system, where independent trends have been known to occur, thus revealing the existence of different strategies within the national social formation. This is the third factor at work.

### 3. *Social strategies and educational inequalities*

The way in which the structuring of a national social formation occurs is for there to be a progressive transition from a multi-ethnic aggregate to a global society within which social classes begin to emerge. The cornerstone of this global society is the state bourgeoisie, which reproduces itself as such in its regional-urban distribution. All the ethnic groups are not represented to an equal degree in this state bourgeoisie, since they were not subjected to an equal extent to the 'colonial influence'. There has been a revival of the pre-colonial movements but these now operate—from an unequal social position—within the context of struggles about and for power and for that which gives access to it: knowledge, wealth and backing. The social groups formulate individual strategies, in accordance with their different socio-historical status, and these provide the basis for their attitude towards education.

It could therefore be said that a group's attitude toward education is the result of its overall strategies. It forms part of a politico-economic logic which in turn depends on the historical orientation of the group's reproduction. The explanation of this orientation should be sought not solely within the group itself but also, and above all, in the system of regional social relationships. It is apparent that the so-called 'backward' regions are the ones where these strategies are dominated by the influences of the pre-colonial past. In Cameroon, for example, structures of an ethnic nature are more pronounced in the North than in the South, where several centuries of change have gradually produced a class structure which cuts across all the ethnic groups. It could be said that, in the North, there tends to be direct transition between ethnic group and social class in so far as the pre-colonial ethnic hierarchy in fact decides the class hierarchy within the social stratification of the nation as a whole, with the former relationships of domination and exploitation thereby reappearing against a new background. In the context of a centralised state and an increasingly monetarised trading economy, where labour tends to be regarded as a commodity, the dominant ethnic group now plays the role of the dominant social class. The paradox is that this 'class' hierarchy is maintained by processes of 'ethnic' reproduction. Some ethnic groups in the North have integrated education within their process of survival, whilst others have not. This provides the explanation for the phenomenon described earlier (p. 63): the increase in the retention rate at the end of the first grade demonstrates that the educational system has improved its efficiency, but the societies which have benefited are those which have accepted education (the Moundang in particular, the Toupouri and the urban elements within the Moslem groups); there has not been an even growth in the system because those tribes which were hesitant with regard to education still lag behind (the highland tribes in particular and the rural elements within the Moslem groups). This backwardness, however, needs some explanation: although originally the hostility of these highland tribes towards education (and indeed towards every single measure introduced by the colonial powers—which was to mean that the position they would occupy in the post-colonial social hierarchy would be both marginal and inferior) was their own decision, it is obvious that today they are no longer being encouraged to educate their children—and for this there are several reasons. If the level of school enrolment amongst these groups were on a par with that for the Moundang, for example, this would disrupt the present balance within the region. What is more, in the context of the present development policy, favouring an aggregate level of progress and based on the exploitation of available resources and a certain division of labour, these highlanders as such constitute both a tourist attraction and a reserve of manpower. And this is the point where the various factors we have described come together: the overall strategies of a trading economy, carried on in those of the nation state, combine with the social strategies of the regional groups to perpetuate educational inequalities.

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[1] Despite the cadres' desire for Africanization.

These facts lead us to an important conclusion: there is no such thing as an ethnic group achieving a greater measure of success than others in the educational system by virtue of some kind of superior gift, affinity or cultural heritage. To assert the opposite would amount to an acceptance of racist ideology. There are groups which have, and those which have not, integrated education within their process of survival and history; nature and regional social relationships have not provided them with equal resources with which to sustain these strategies or change them if need be.

### *4. Educational supply and demand*

The foregoing analysis of the three factors determining educational disparities, i.e. international relationships, the national-state context and social strategies, has shown us that these factors can be at one and the same time complementary and contradictory. In other words, they can also be regarded as independent factors. If we pursue the analysis further in this direction we shall be better able to understand the place and role of educational supply and demand and, on a more general level, the true functions of the educational system and the position of education in relation to politics and economics.

In our introduction we stressed that the fundamental nature of education—whilst reflecting the major thrust of society as a whole—was political and ideological since its prime function in any society is 'socialisation', i.e. social and political integration through the operation of processes of ideological acceptance. Thus, in industrialised countries, where one can consider the main impulsion to be economic, the educational system serves as a means for justifying the economic system and all the social relationships which this creates, including political relationships and the role of the state. These industrialised or 'developed' countries, as they are termed, are the dominant force in world economic relations. In particular, they dominate the economies of the so-called 'under-developed' countries, whose main feature is their dependence on the outside world. However, for this external dependence to persist, it is not necessary that the internal economic relationships within these dominated countries should be similar to those in the dominant countries. Thus, in the dominated countries of tropical Africa, the existence of capitalist economic relationships is not essential to the process of capitalist domination. It is enough if these countries keep their alloted place in the system of international trade. However, for this, certain political and ideological conditions have to be fulfilled and it is at this stage in the process that the state intervenes.

In the first instance it was the colonial state which provided the political framework for an exploitation which took many forms and only much later concerned itself with the need for some kind of justification. Today, the political and ideological conditions for capitalist exploitation are provided by the nation states. Thus, in the so-called under-developed countries, the main impulsion is political and ideological and the function of the educational system in these countries is to justify the political system. The ideology produced by the school is designed to sanction the authority of the state. Although these nation states are currently relays for economic imperialism, they none the less pursue their own objectives which, sooner or later, will become the origin of conflicts between dominant and dominated countries. The schools in these countries produce not only a national bourgeoisie and 'citizens' but also a nationalist bourgeoisie which will be able to maintain its position *vis-à-vis* the 'citizens' only by launching a genuine anti-imperialist drive. All this is inherent in the logic of educational development. To say, as H. Levin does,[1] that in developing countries 'the aim of expansion in the educational area is to keep the labour market ticking over so that the cost of labour is kept low and so that workers can be exploited because of the lack of choice', stems from what is both an economic and mechanistic interpretation of the workings of society. If such were really the aim of educational expansion, there would be no reason for it to slow down. However, it is becoming increasingly apparent that tropical African countries are no longer encouraging such expansion. We have already seen that in

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[1] In *The limits of educational planning*, p. 30.

Cameroon the Third Plan, as far as primary education was concerned, provides for nothing more than a spontaneous growth in enrolment. This means in fact that there is no deliberate attempt to extend education to sectors where enrolment is non-existent or to increase it where it is insufficient. There are at least two reasons for this: firstly, the cost of education is becoming excessive and secondly, since the school does not have the monopoly for the production of ideology, the same functions can be performed by all the political and technological structures, as well as by the radio.

Of course, by disseminating new knowledge, the school plays an important role *vis-à-vis* the job market. One might even say that the roles have been reversed to the extent that, in a certain number of African countries, it became a political necessity to create jobs of an administrative kind in order to absorb part of the output from the school system. However, what has to be emphasised most of all is the fact that formal education is now an indispensable qualification for any position of authority whatsoever. The school is thus the means of integration within the new social structures and this explains why it is becoming increasingly the focus of social rivalry with regard to access to these structures and why intra-regional inequalities are beginning to assume greater political importance than inter-regional inequalities. This is the background against which the concepts of educational supply and demand have to be viewed.

From the analysis we have made in terms of social construction and levels of autonomy it follows that the demand for education should be viewed as a global social strategy within a system of multi-dimensional relationships. This strategy, whether it leads to an acceptance or to a rejection of education, operates in fact at the meeting-point between pre-colonial stimuli, colonial influences and present opportunities. The same is true for the supply, which is *governed* by the dominant groups within the state apparatus. Supply is a social command. Social strategies and mass trends (e.g. demographic, economic and financial) may combine to give a reciprocal boost to supply and demand. In Cameroon this is what is happening in the case of the tribes in the South-West zone, and in particular the Bamileke, where there is such social pressure behind the demand that it automatically creates the supply. We have already seen (p. 92) the importance of private non-denominational education in the various regions. In the zones integrated within the market economy, the populations themselves are beginning to take over the role of the public authorities in financing education. Such spontaneous developments are an indication of the problems confronting any policy aimed at reducing disparities. By contrast, social strategies and mass trends (e.g. demographic and political) can also combine to produce a refusal-rejection dialectic. This is the case of the Highland tribes in the North (cf. p. 102). Between 1962 and 1967 a vast effort was made to increase the level of education in the North. This effort was successful amongst the non-Moslem tribes living in the plain along the Chad border (the Moundang, Toupouri etc.) where education has genuinely been accepted as part of social life. It was a conspicuous failure amongst the Highlanders, whose resistance was unshaken.[1]

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[1] They regard education as a threat to their economic and social survival.

The only real increase in enrolment levels was in small urban centres, and some schools which had been opened with the aid of the military had finally to be closed. Government pressure has now been relaxed: between 1962 and 1967 in the Margui-Wandala Department, which contains all the mountain tribes, the number of schools rose from 44 to 90; between 1967 and 1974 it rose only from 90 to 94. In 1972 the enrolment rate for this Department was 35.50 per 1000. It is the lowest for all Cameroon.

The concepts of supply and demand for education must therefore be seen as shedding light on one another and not maintained in a dualism or rigid relationship which the facts show to be artificial. In the context of reducing regional disparities in education, in the last analysis, supply—just like demand—does not simply imply a classroom, or a certain type of programme, but a social position.

# Appendix

## Regional statistics on education and population, Cameroon, 1954-75

TABLE A.1. 1954/55

| Region | Total population (1) | %I (2) | Enrolment in primary education (3) | %II (4) | Index II/I (5) | Pupils per 1000 inh. (6) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Central-Southern | 724 017 | 18.17 | 95 119 | 36.50 | 2.00 | 131 |
| East | 209 594 | 5.25 | 12 031 | 4.61 | 0.87 | 57 |
| Littoral | 400 070 | 10.03 | 55 057 | 21 12 | 2.10 | 137 |
| West | 536 670 | 13.47 | 44 845 | 17.20 | 1.27 | 83 |
| North | 1 208 793 | 30.35 | 9 029 | 3.47 | 0.11 | 7 |
| W. Cameroon | 906 000 | 22.73 | 44 566 | 17.10 | 0.75 | 49 |
| Total | 3 985 144 | 100 | 260 647 | 100 | | |

SOURCES (1) and (3): *Annual Abstract of Educational Statistics—Cameroon*, 1.1.1955, for French-speaking Cameroon; C. and G. Courade for English-speaking Cameroon.

TABLE A.2. 1957/58

| Region | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Central-Southern | 754 205 | 18.21 | 122 603 | 34.94 | 1.91 | 162 |
| East | 209 567 | 5.07 | 20 076 | 5.72 | 1.13 | 95 |
| Littoral | 422 177 | 10.20 | 69 797 | 19.90 | 1.95 | 165 |
| West | 553 599 | 13.37 | 60 611 | 17.27 | 1.29 | 109 |
| North | 1 231 558 | 29.73 | 20 934 | 5.97 | 0.20 | 16 |
| W. Cameroon | 970 000 | 23.42 | 56 810 | 16.20 | 0.69 | 56 |
| Total | 4 141 106 | 100 | 350 831 | 100 | | |

SOURCE (1) and (3): *Annual Abstract of Educational Statistics—Cameroon*, 1.1.1958.

TABLE A.3. 1961/62

| Region | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Central-Southern | 924 162 | 20.24 | 191 452 | 36.65 | 1.81 | 207 |
| East | 233 230 | 5.10 | 23 428 | 4.48 | 0.57 | 100 |
| Littoral | 380 309 | 8.33 | 83 393 | 15.97 | 1.91 | 219 |
| West | 625 899 | 13.72 | 92 962 | 17.80 | 1.29 | 148 |
| North | 1 338 847 | 29.34 | 35 883 | 6.88 | 0.23 | 26 |
| W. Cameroon | 1 062 000 | 23.27 | 95 159 | 18.22 | 0.78 | 89 |
| Total | 4 564 447 | 100 | 522 277 | 100 |  | 114 |

SOURCES (1) Official government figures (French-speaking Cameroon) for 31.12.1961; for West Cameroon: estimate by C. and G. Courade.
(3) *Statistical Abstract 1962* — Secretary of State for Education.

TABLE A.4. 1964/65

| Region | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Central-Southern | 1 060 663 | 20.68 | 208 141 | 30.67 | 1.48 | 196 |
| East | 257 352 | 5.01 | 42 174 | 6.21 | 1.23 | 163 |
| Littoral | 547 059 | 10.67 | 107 701 | 15.86 | 1.48 | 196 |
| West | 727 688 | 14.20 | 140 430 | 20.70 | 1.45 | 192 |
| North | 1 397 048 | 27.25 | 55.967 | 8.25 | 0.30 | 40 |
| W. Cam. | 1 137 200 | 22.19 | 124 254 | 18.31 | 0.82 | 109 |
| Total | 5 127 010 | 100 | 678 667 | 100 |  | 132 |

SOURCES (1) and (3)— *Statistical Abstract 1964-1965*. Secretary of State for Primary Education, in French-speaking Cameroon.
— For English-speaking Cameroon: (1) estimate by C. and G. Courade
(3) official figure.

TABLE A.5. 1967/68

| Region | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Central-Southern | 1 120 000 | 20.0 | 240 984 | 29.51 | 1.47 | 215 |
| East | 275 000 | 4.92 | 45 232 | 5.53 | 1.12 | 164 |
| Littoral | 625 000 | 11.20 | 124 769 | 15.27 | 1.36 | 199 |
| West | 830 000 | 14.84 | 161 908 | 19.83 | 1.33 | 195 |
| North | 1 540 000 | 27.56 | 70 556 | 8.63 | 0.31 | 45 |
| W. Cameroon | 1 200 000 | 21.48 | 173 412 | 21.23 | 0.98 | 144 |
| Total | 5 590 000 | 100 | 816 861 | 100 | | 146 |

SOURCES (1) — Estimates based on sample population surveys in *Tableau de la population du Cameroun* — Yaoundé, ORSTOM, 1971.
(3) — *Statistical Abstract 1967-1968* of the Cameroonian Ministry of Education

TABLE A.6. 1975/76

| Region | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Central-Southern | 1 492 945 | 19.49 | 303 051 | 27.23 | 1.39 | 202 |
| East | 366 235 | 4.78 | 58 854 | 5.29 | 1.10 | 160 |
| Littoral | 935 166 | 12.20 | 167 736 | 15.08 | 1.23 | 179 |
| West | 1 035 597 | 13.51 | 221 285 | 19.89 | 1.47 | 213 |
| North | 2 232 257 | 29.13 | 115 114 | 10.35 | 0.35 | 51 |
| W. Cameroon[1] | 1 601 046 | 20.90 | 246 713 | 22.17 | 1.06 | 154 |
| Total | 7 663 246 | 100 | 1 112 753 | 100 | | 145 |
| [1] of which | | | | | | |
| North-West | 980 531 | 12.80 | 127 565 | 11.46 | 0.89 | 130 |
| South-West | 620 515 | 8.10 | 119 148 | 10.70 | 1.32 | 192 |

SOURCES (1) — Population census April 1976.
(3) — Estimate arrived at by taking the latest available figures (1973/74) and applying the average annual growth rate in enrolment over the preceding 5 years.

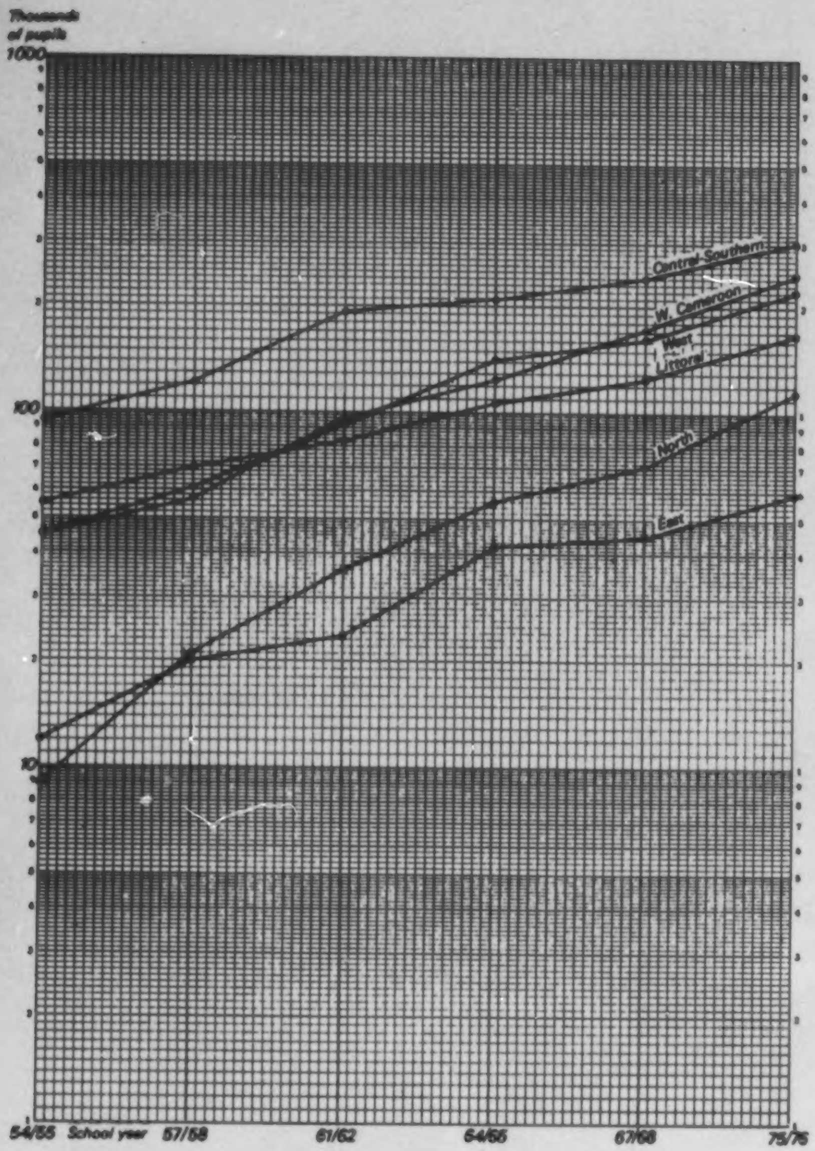

FIGURE A.1. *Growth in enrolment in primary education, Cameroon, 1954-75.*

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# Regional disparities in schooling:

## the case of Madagascar

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# Introduction

The spectacular growth of education in the countries of Africa over the last twenty years has not done as much to reduce *regional disparities* as the authorities had expected in the early 1960s.[1]

The educational system of the *colonial period,* with its distinction between Europeans and 'natives' and very uneven geographical coverage, was unified on the metropolitan pattern only during the 1950s, after which it began to grow rapidly.[2]

With *independence,* educational growth accelerated to meet the requirement for trained executives to operate the machinery of government and the production system in the newly decolonised countries, whose inhabitants perceived independence as a reconquest of social and cultural power with education as one of the major instruments; it received special emphasis as part of the nation-building process and in due course the authorities saw a clear need to reduce the disparities in provision in the school map.[3]

Experience shows, however, that in most of these countries regional disparities have tended to persist. It is therefore important to try to establish how far one is dealing here with a self-renewing *educational* mechanism, or a *political*

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1. See especially Bugnicourt, *Disparités régionales et aménagement du territoire en Afrique*, Paris, Cahier IIAP, A. Colin, 1971, 292 pp.; Caillods, Carron, Ta Ngoc Châu: *Projet sur les disparités régionales dans le développement de l'éducation*, Paris, IIEP, 1975 (roneo); Foster: 'Education and social differenciation in Africa: what we think we know and what we suggest to know'. Social Science Research Council. *Comparative education review*. The IEDES education research group has tackled the subject of the present study in an interesting way in its work on the performance of African schools and on schooling disparities.
2. Contrary to what is often said, colonial schools were not copies of European schools. The assimilation of the system of the 'natives' to the metropolitan model was achieved on the eve of independence. See P. Hugon, 'Aperçus historiques de l'enseignement à Madagascar', *Annuaire de l'Océan Indien*, 1977 CERCOI, Aix, M 79.101, 1977; Lê Thanh Khôi (ed.), *L'enseignement en Afrique tropicale*, Paris, PUF, Ed. Tiers Monde 1970. A. M. Goguel, 'Enseignement et idéologie à Madagascar' (thesis in preparation).
3. See Hallak, J., *Planning the location of schools: an instrument of educational policy*, Paris, Unesco/IIEP, 1977, 250 pp. In Chapter V (pp. 101 to 125) the author deals with the interplay of supply and demand in urban and rural environments.

*will* to perpetuate inequality despite egalitarian talk, or an *economic process* creating patterns of geographical inequality through its own logic.

The field of reference for this theoretical study is Madagascar, but some of the analyses may be transposable to 'peripheral' societies. Former colonies are an especially interesting case because their recent history leaves them at a unique conjuncture of events, with rapidly expanding education accompanied by deep-seated change in the system of production, while at the same time the emergence of independent States has until recently been creating quite a number of posts to be filled by the products of the new schools.

Part I of this study sets out the aims, method and working assumptions underlying it; Part II describes and part III analyses the process by which regional disparities develop and reproduce.

# I. Conceptual presentation and working assumptions

A study of regional disparities in the provision of school facilities in Madagascar requires definition of the concepts of space (region) and school system (school) and their significance in the specific field of the Malagasy social formation.

Madagascar is an island of 587,000 km$^2$, with a population of about 8 million in 1977, extending over 1,600 km from North to South over the intertropical zone between 12.5° and 25° latitude South; both humanly and physically, the Grande Ile presents a remarkable combination of unity and diversity. Its insularity permits a high degree of unity: the national language, of Malayo-polynesian origin, is a basic factor of integration despite certain dialectical differences; the predominating form of civilisation is rural, based on rice cultivation and cattle-raising. Yet though there seems to be so much in common, the diversity in relief, climate, land, crops, life styles and production systems confers great variety upon the regions and in certain respects, Madagascar is said to be not so much an island as an archipelago—a melting-pot for Asian, African, Arab and European civilisations which despite its undeniable unity remains a nation 'in the making'.

## A. Space and regions in Madagascar

Conflicting concepts enter into the definition of a region;[1] for simplicity, *geographical* and *administrative* regions, which are practical realities, may be contrasted with the abstract socio-economic and socio-political areas which lead to a more scientific understanding of reality.

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[1] There is an impressive literature on the conception of space. Most neo-classics perceive space as a homogeneous, punctiform and isotropic ensemble. The land is one good, characterised by a distance and a surface. See Dockes, *L'espace dans la pensée économique*, Paris, Flammarion, 1969. F. Perroux had the great merit of conceiving an abstract space, identifying the concepts of polarised space and of space as 'content of a plan'; he showed that the universe was heterogeneous and anisotropic, characterised by focal poles which can be studied at the level of flows of information, goods, innovations and people; plan space is for projects, the calculation spaces of the various economic agents. See *L'économie du XX$^{e}$ siècle*, Paris, PUF, 1964. Its field of reference however remains that of economies dominated by trading relations. For a marxist attempt to articulate space and social relations, see A. Lipietz, *Le capital et son espace*, Paris, Maspero, 1977, p. 163.

### *1. Geographical regions*

For the geographer a region is an immediately discernible reality, an actual entity whose boundaries can be determined on the basis of topographical, climatic, geological or human criteria. Madagascar has five major ecological regions (see Maps 1 and 2):[1]

The central plateau or highlands
The Eastern Coast, or Indian alluvial fringe
The broad Western zone
The Northern Triangle
The arid South.

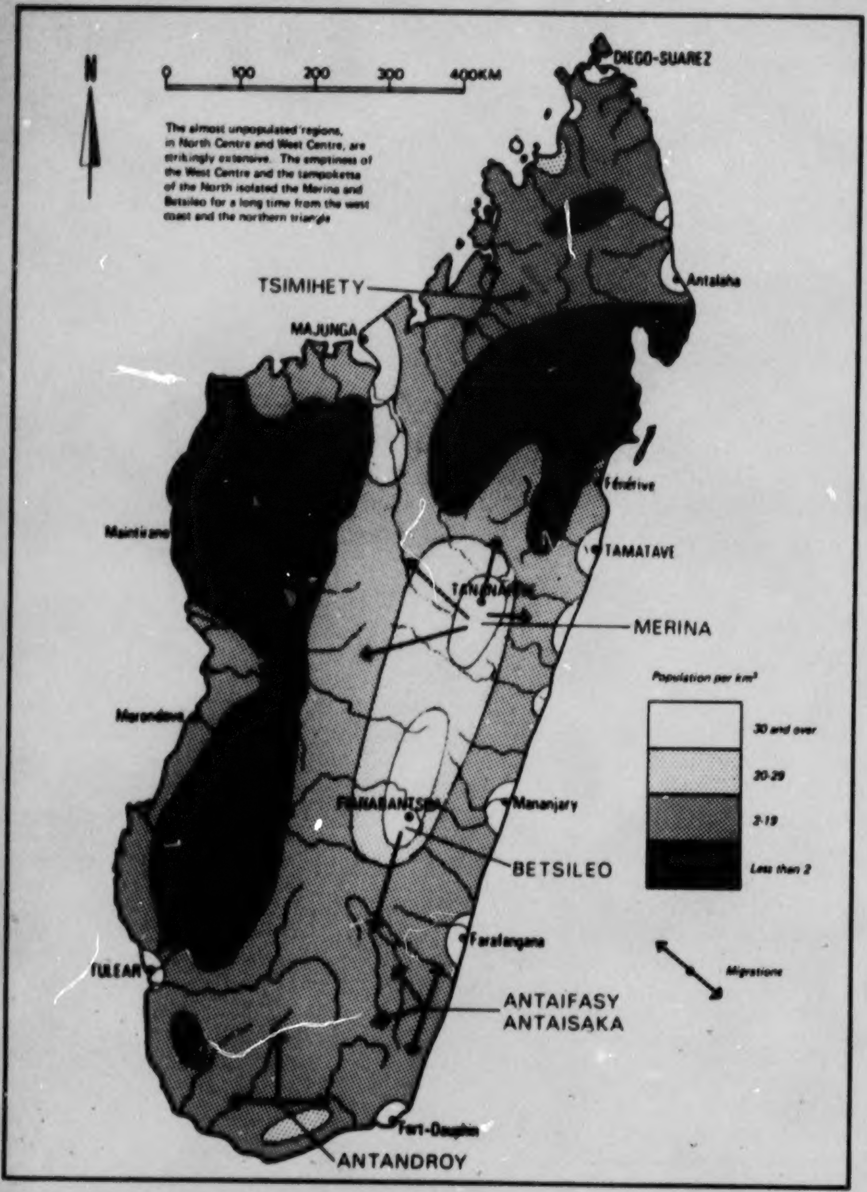
(a) The rice-growing *highlands* are the most highly developed and densely populated regions of the Grande Ile; the agricultural pattern is one of small owner-farms in the centre, growing rice under irrigation, with larger holdings (Lake Alaotra) in the less densely populated outskirts; this social formation has grown out of the dissolution of a semi-asiatic[2] form of production in the 19th century, together with the gradual penetration of traders. Communications are fairly dense; the high-altitude tropical climate supports a population of 100 per square kilometre or more; burgeoning industries, mainly associated with agriculture and stockfarming, constitute poles of attraction. The population consists of two principal groups: the Merina (two million) and the Betsileo (920,000) who are migrating elsewhere in the Grande Ile under demographic pressure. This region is *well-provided* with schools, particularly in the centre and most of all in Tananarive, the enrolment ratio being very closely associated with demographic density and urbanisation. The very high degree of ethnic homogeneity of Imerina and Tananarive (in 1960, 98 per cent of the population of an area of 350,000 hectares had been born in the Imerina area) ensures a good match between the location of schools and educational needs for inhabitants of the central area.

(b) The *East coast*, a heavily forested region with a tropical climate, is bounded on the East by the Indian Ocean and on the West by the plateau escarpment; this eastern border forms a narrow seaboard, with rich agricultural potential (rice, cassava, groundnuts, coffee are grown along the coast, recent planting of oil palms, cocoa, bananas, cloves, vanilla, pepper etc.) but in an enclaved position.

---

[1] For a geographical division of Malagasy space, see *Atlas de Madagascar*, Département de géographie, Orstom, Madagascar, 1970; Bastian, *Madagascar, étude géographique et économique*, Paris, Nathan, 1969; *Battistini, L'Afrique australe et Madagascar*, Paris, PUF, 1968; Isnard, *Madagascar*, ed. A. Colin, 1964.

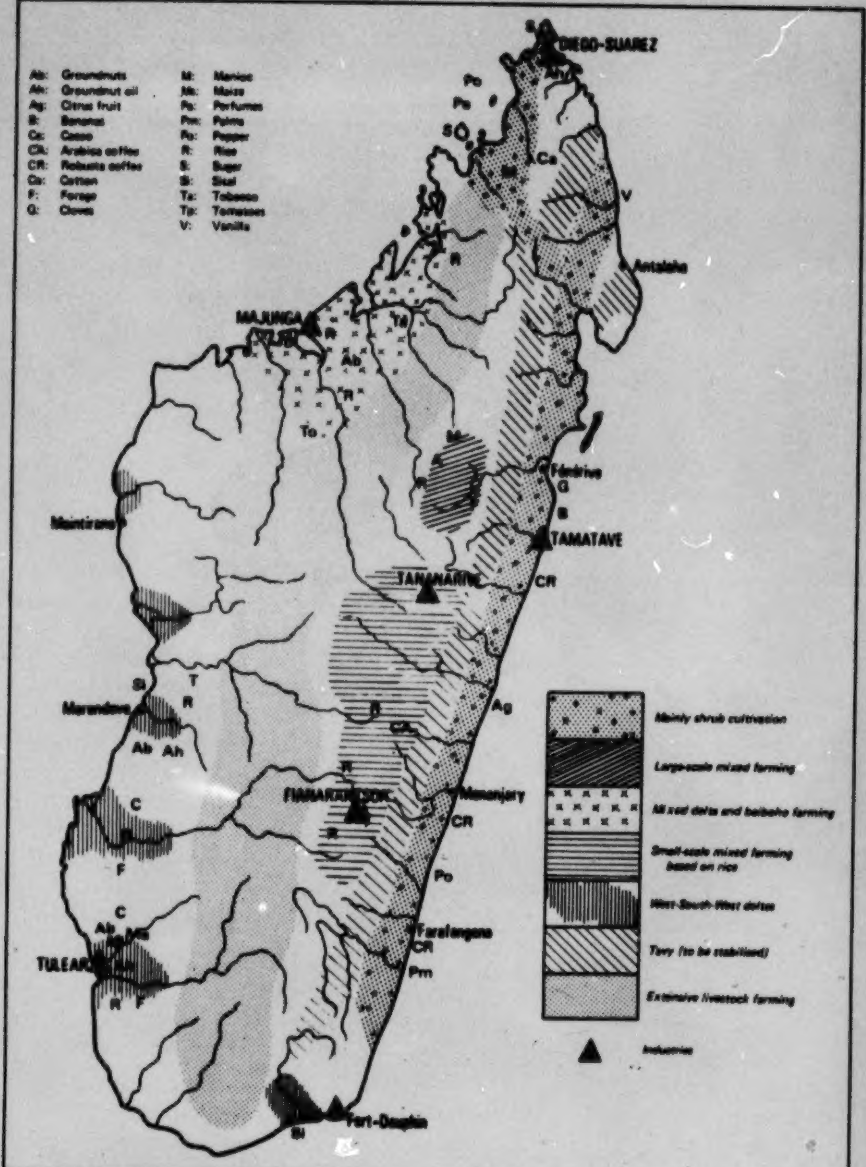
[2] The Asiatic production mode is a combination of village communities with common ownership of the land on the basis of a kinship system, together with the emergence of government power explaining the real or imaginary unity of these communities and drawing its power by appropriating the village surplus. See CERM, *Sur le mode de production asiatique*, Paris, Ed. Sociales, 1970.



The almost unpopulated regions, in North Centre and West Centre, are strikingly extensive. The emptiness of the West Centre and the tampoketsa of the North isolated the Merina and Betsileo for a long time from the west coast and the northern triangle

N
0
100
200
300
400KM
DIEGO-SUAREZ
Antalaha
TSIMIHETY
MAJUNGA
Fénérive
Maintirano
TAMATAVE
TANANARIVE
MERINA
Population per km²
30 and over
20-29
2-19
Less than 2
Morondava
Mananjary
FIANARANTSOA
BETSILEO
Farafangana
Migrations
TULEAR
ANTAIFASY
ANTAISAKA
Fort-Dauphin
ANTANDROY

**Map 1.** *Madagascar: population and ethnic distribution.*


Ab: Groundnuts
Ah: Groundnut oil
Ag: Citrus fruit
B: Bananas
Ca: Cocoa
CA: Arabica coffee
CR: Robusta coffee
Co: Cotton
F: Forage
G: Cloves
M: Manioc
Ma: Maize
Pe: Perfumes
Pm: Palms
Po: Pepper
R: Rice
S: Sugar
Si: Sisal
Ta: Tobacco
Tp: Tomatoes
V: Vanilla
DIEGO-SUAREZ
Antalaha
MAJUNGA
Maintirano
Fénérive
TAMATAVE
TANANARIVE
Morondava
Mananjary
FIANARANTSOA
Farafangana
TULEAR
Fort-Dauphin
Mainly shrub cultivation
Large-scale mixed farming
Mixed delta and baiboho farming
Small-scale mixed farming based on rice
West-South-West deltas
Tavy (to be stabilised)
Extensive livestock farming
Industries

MAP 2. *Madagascar: principal agricultural regions and products.*

The dominant system of production involves both export crops and produce for domestic consumption, with ties to intermediate traders in the bushland, mostly Chinese, and small plantations owned by a declining number of European colonists. The Betsimaraka, the largest group (1.1 million) practise itinerant rice-growing on patches of burnt land (tavy) together with export crops; the Tanala (250,000), traditionally living in the forests of the South-east, are entrepreneurial farmers; the Bezanozano (45,000) are concentrated in the upper and intermediate reaches of the Manganaro valley; the Sihanaka (150,000) are farmers in the Lake Alaotra depression; the Antaimoro, Antaisaka and Antaifasy (500,000) inhabit the south of the eastern coast. In this region, populated more densely along the coast (30 inhabitants per square kilometre), and less densely along the edges of the highlands (10 per square kilometre), provision of school facilities is *fairly well developed.*

(c) The *North* is dominated by an agrarian system of large foreign concessions, associated with a clan system and market capitalism. The Northern Triangle region is one of the island's richest (sugar-cane, cocoa, coffee, spices and perfume plants) but it is enclaved; the population is of mixed migrant origin, mainly Tsimirety and Tankarana; Diego province produces one quarter of the whole country's exports. The school enrolment ratio is *comparatively high.*

(d) The *West Coast* combines wide, savanna-covered plateaux with broad deltas; there is considerable potential but the area is not easy to develop; the rather sparse population occupies the valleys, which are still being exploited only to a very limited extent. Heavy waves of migration occurred many years ago in this region. To the West, livestock are bred, and some of the land is under crops (rice at Marovoay, Cape peas and cotton at Manghy and Morondova).

The lineal or clan system,[1] gradually disintegrating, applies to export crops, livestock breeding and food crops; it is linked to a trading economy controlled by Indians and import-export companies, and with agrarian capitalism (cotton). The main population groups are the Sakalava (380,000) who combine livestock breeding and agriculture, the Vezo fishermen, and the Tsimihety (560,000). Agricultural produce, in addition to food crops, includes cotton, Cape peas and tobacco. *Educational enrolment is unevenly developed:* schools are well attended in Tsimihety areas, but have long been rejected in Sakalava areas; school enrolment is very closely associated with the centres of migration; ratios are thus distinctly higher for Betsileo migrants than for the local inhabitants.

(e) The *South* is the poorest region of the Grande Ile. The lineal system still predominates, mainly for livestock breeding; large sisal concessions constitute enclaves.

The distinguishing feature of the South is its aridity: the 'bush' type of vegetation provides very little in the way of resources for a thinly-spread population; the irrigation problems are strategic; the South and South-West are the domain of the semi-nomad husbandmen: the Antandroy (410,000), Mahafaly (95,000) and Bara (220,000); this region, where *school enrolments are very low*, is the point of departure for considerable numbers of migrants.

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[1] The 'lineal system' is organised on the basis of kinship relations; the system groups the descendents of a common eponymous ancestor, who may or may not be imaginary; the lineal chief controls the circulation of prestige goods, women and slaves, and takes a 'surplus' from the younger men, although one cannot speak of class relationships between older and younger.

The contrast in climate and diversity of ecological environment, the heterogeneity of the social systems, the widely scattered population together with differences in demographic density (over 150 per square kilometre in the highland and East coast valleys, less than five per square kilometre in the West), the different historical background for every social formation, lead to regional disparities in a territory which is larger than France but has a population six times smaller.

### 2. *Administrative regions*

Secondly, a country can be divided into regions on the basis of political and administrative criteria; the territorial administration includes the full range of locally-run services and decentralised local bodies throughout the land. Looked at in terms of the administrative structure, urban areas can be contrasted with their rural counterparts (at commune and canton level), the capital with the headquarters of provinces, prefectures, sub-prefectures and communes, and one can analyse the relationships between *Fanjakana* (this word means at the same time power, government and State) and *Fokon'olona*, the village community traditionally based on clan relationships which is nowadays a residential administrative unit.

Until 1972 the country had five major levels of government: Provinces (of which there were six: Diégo-Suarez, Fianarantsoa, Majunga, Tamatave, Tananarive and Tuléar); Prefectures (18), Sub-prefectures (94), Districts ('arrondissements') and cantons (696).[1] Apart from the Prefectures, which were introduced in 1960, this structure follows the old colonial patterns of provinces, districts, administrative posts and cantons.[2] The distribution of units is shown in Table 1.

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[1] The 778 communes are not administrative units for ordinary purposes, but provide a framework for central government intervention. The administrative district (*arrondissement*) is a subdivision into which the more extended sub-prefectures can be broken up.

[2] The highly centralised nature of the Merina State was reinforced by the colonial administration, and the trend was only provisionally reversed on the eve of independence (with the Municipal Law of the 18th November 1955 and the Law of the 23rd June 1956). On the centralisation of the Merina State, see Deschamps, *Histoire de Madagascar*, Paris, Berger Levrault, 1960; Condominas, *Fokon'olona et collectivités rurales en Imerina*, Paris, Berger Levrault, 1960.

On the colonial period, see Gallièni, *Neuf ans à Madagascar*, Paris, Hachette, 1898, p. 364; Massiot, *L'administration publique à Madagascar de 1896 à la proclamation de la République Malgache*, LGDJ, 1971.

On the post-colonial period, the comprehensive study is J. Gaudusson, *L'administration Malgache*, Paris, IIAP, 1977. The new administrative structure is given in Ordonnance No. 73.009 of 24th March 1973, structuring the rural world in such a way as to give the people mastery over development (Official Journal, 3rd April 1973).

TABLE 1. Local organisation of government administration in 1972.[1]

| | | Population | | | | | | Communes | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Area (km²) | 000s | Per km² | Préfectures | Sub-Prefectures | Districts | Cantons | Urban | Rural |
| Diégo-Suarez | 43 056 | 621 | 14.4 | 2 | 8 | 1 | 59 | 8 | 65 |
| Fianarantsoa | 102 373 | 1 861 | 18.2 | 3 | 19 | 13 | 178 | 9 | 195 |
| Majunga | 150 023 | 918 | 6.1 | 3 | 18 | 7 | 96 | 9 | 111 |
| Tamatave | 71 191 | 1 223 | 17.0 | 3 | 15 | 5 | 117 | 7 | 115 |
| Tananarive | 58 283 | 1 861 | 32.0 | 4 | 15 | 3 | 132 | 7 | 135 |
| Tuléar | 161 045 | 1 168 | 7.2 | 3 | 19 | 12 | 114 | 6 | 111 |
| Total | 587 000 | 7 652 | 13.0 | 18 | 94 | 41 | 696 | 46 | 732 |

[1] Prior to 1965 the six provinces were grouped differently: Tananarive included the districts of Moramanga and Ambatondrazaka. Fianarantsoa those of Fort Dauphin and Ambovombe, nowadays in the provinces of Tamatave and Tuléar respectively.

SOURCE J. de Gaudusson, *L'administration malgache*, Paris, IIAP, 1976, p. 24.

The far-reaching social and political change in Madagascar after May 1972 has resulted in a new administrative structure designed to abolish the relations of constraint between *Fanjakana* and *Fokon'olona*, and to permit decentralised administration of a kind which may ultimately lead to a federal system. The abolition of the poll taxes, the administrative reorganisation based on the *Fokon'olona* and their territory (the *Fokontany*), the provision that each unit should have a budget of its own, have all made a considerable difference to the administrative structure: the 10,222 *Fokontany* on which it is based are grouped into 700 *Firaisam-Fokontany*, 110 *Fivondronam-Fokontany* and six *Faritany*, the latter corresponding to the former provinces. The result is a four-tier administrative pyramid, covering successively larger areas and broadly corresponding to the former administrative units (village, canton, sub-prefecture and province).[1]

The *Fokontany* have a budget with which to carry certain expenditures on first-level education; the present structure provides that there should be a budget for every administrative unit carrying the cost of the various levels of education, according to its place in the pyramid.

Combining the geographical and administrative ways of dividing up the country yields a rule-of-thumb concept, the 'programme-region', in which the regions are viewed in terms of practical features (such as enrolment ratios, demographic density, school staffing levels, hospital beds per head, income per head, road network density, etc.) so that disparities can be picked out with quantitative indices or social indicators; this concept is useful for descriptive and practical purposes, since the region defined along these lines provides the basis for the Plan.[2]

Thus in Madagascar, as part of the preparation for the First Plan, regions were identified which could be said to be homogeneous in geographical, economic or demographic terms; these were matched against the commercial growth points so as to define 'development regions' or 'operational regions' which constituted a new framework for government intervention (the 19 economic prefectures). The most promising regions as regards growth are central Imerina, Vakinankaratra and Lake Alaotra; then the Betsileo country, the Mid-West and the Baiboko of Majunga; then the North-East and the Western Deltas. The critical regions are the South-East, the Mahafaly and Androy lands, Western Sakalava, the Bara lands, the Falaises and the Gradins.

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[1] The *Fokon'olona* was traditionally a community of individuals with a common residence and ties of kinship (through a more or less mythical eponymous common ancestor); it was mainly found in Imerina; the autonomy of the *Fokon'olona* continued to diminish in pre-colonial times and then during the colonial period.

After independence the authorities preferred communes to *Fokon'olona* as an administrative unit, but from 1972 onwards the *Fokon'olona* became the basic cell of the political and administrative system; economically, however, the socialist co-operative has taken over from the *Fokon'olona* since 1975.

[2] The programme regions are presented in: CINAM, *Etude des conditions socio-économiques de développement régional*, Tananarive, 1962; Hanicotte, 'Aspects de la régionalisation du 1er plan quinquennal', *Revue économique de Madagascar*, No. 5, December 1970; Hanicotte, *La planification régionale à Madagascar*, thesis, Paris II, 1973 (roneo).

### 3. *Socio-political and socio-economic 'space'*

These definitions of 'region' are not enough by themselves for proper analysis, but must be accompanied by *socio-political* and *socio-economic* divisions. 'Space' in this sense has an *objective* dimension (the area covered, where it is located) and also a *subjective* dimension (the 'horizon' of the individual agent, the space he regards as being of concern to him, which will correspond to his particular level of awareness).

Space in this sense can be regarded as having a structure whose shape reflects the location of decision centres and the spheres of influence of the state apparatus (socio-political 'space'); it also reflects the unequal development of productive forces and the hierarchical structure of the various social groups (socio-economic 'space'). In the peripheral nations, the unequal exchange between town and country leads to polarized flows of goods and people to the benefit of the centre; unequal exchange also occurs between the town and the outside world, together with outward movements of capital, goods and people. The region can thus be defined as a zone of particular influence: as a locus for the integration or differentiation of the various socio-economic systems.

*(a) Socio-political 'space'.*[1] The State, monopolising physical and symbolic violence, strives to act as a unifying force over the various agents occupying socio-political 'space', and is equipped with the apparatus of constraints provided by an administration which has not been developed to the same level of effectiveness across the country as a whole; it exercises its power through relations of constraint at varying degrees of remoteness from its nationals. The unifying process of integrating the different agents within a given socio-political 'space' has to be carried out in conflict with representatives of the various local

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[1] Socio-political space is treated in a number of political anthropology works, but there is no overall study for Madagascar. For the Betsimisaraka country see Althabe, *Oppression et libération dans l'imaginaire. Les communautés villageoises de la Côte orientale*, Paris, Maspero, 1969, p. 354; Chandon Moet Vohimasina, *Village malgache*, Paris, Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1972. For the Bara country: Faublée, *La cohésion des sociétés Bara*, Paris, PUF, 1953, p. 158. For the Sakalava countries: Bare J. F., *Traits des organisations Sakalava du Nord Toloka*, 1971; 'Hiérarchies politiques et organisation sociale a Madagascar' in *Malgache qui es-tu?*, Ed. Neuchâtel, 1973; Fauroux, *La formation sociale sakalava dans les rapports marchands ou l'histoire d'une articulation ratée*, 1975, thesis, Paris X; Ottino, *Les économies paysannes malgaches du Bas Mangoky*, Paris, Berger Levrault, 1963, p. 375. For the Merina country: Cabanes, *Evolution des formes sociales de la production agricole dans la Plaine de Tananarive*, Cahiers du Centre d'études des coutumes, No. 10, 1974; Commarmond, *Le village et l'histoire*, Annales de la faculté des lettres No. 11, Tananarive, 1971, p. 13; Condominas, *Fokon'olona*, op. cit.; Fauroux, *Les transformations d'une communauté villageoise malgache*, Paris, ORSTOM, 1972; Vogel, *Organisation familiale et territoriale en Imerina orientale*, Cahiers du Centre de Sociologie et d'Anthropologie sociale, University of Madagascar, 1971, No. 2, page 232; Raison, 'Utilisation du sol et organisation de l'espace en Imerina ancien', *Terre malgache*, No. 13, 1972.

socio-political powers; in its determination to impose unity, the central government is confronted by centrifugal movements which have led, historically, to extremely violent conflicts, and brought about a situation in which there are some areas over which the central authorities have practically no control.

The development of the state apparatus may thus be analysed as a contradictory process in which the various ethnic and statutory groups, and social classes, form 'alliances of power', with relations of constraint towards the various dominated groups (*Fokon'olona*, lumpenproletariat, ethnic groups, descendants of slaves, landless peasants etc.).

The school, regarded as an institution within the state apparatus, plays an essential part in this contradictory process: it helps to integrate the various different agents within a given national socio-political 'space', and it is the principal stake in the struggle for position within the state apparatus; but it also plays a role in eliminating many groups from the struggle for position and imposing an arbitrary cultural and political pattern upon the dominated groups. Kinship and ethnic relationships must be studied in order to understand the social stratification and levels of awareness of the individual agents within the state.

The administrative regions defined above afford an empirical illustration of socio-political space, and will be used below to provide specific illustrations.

*(b) Socio-economic 'space'*. Madagascar is a social formation which has been historically integrated within the world market, has experienced domination by colonial capital and remains largely dominated by trading capital, although some degree of capitalism has emerged since 1945. Capital earns a return where it can circulate, and interlocks with complex forms of production. Historically, trading has tended to become the predominating, though by no means the exclusive, social relationship. Socio-economic 'space' can thus be defined in terms of two contradictory processes: the conflicts between trading and non-trading relationships, and between capitalist and non-capitalist relationships.

Trading and value express the relationships through which particular instances of work performed in the various places in which productive forces are assembled become social work: this occurs only in a society where the main human relationships are formed in connexion with the production and exchange of goods. In Madagascar, while trade is tending to become the dominating social relationship, this historical process is still under way, so that non-trading social relationships such as religion, ethnic and kinship must also be considered. In particular, the individual agent has relations of kinship (nuclear, lineal, deme) whose basis is nowadays residential. These are demonstrated in the *Tanindrazana* (land of the ancestors, where the family tomb is located) and in membership of an ethnic group located in a given territory; even when migration occurs, there is usually no break with the area of origin, though some ethnic mixing may occur at the new location. Kinship relationships and ethnic membership must therefore be studied for an insight into the way in which space is stratified for the individual, and what his levels of reference or awareness are likely to be.[1] Human energy does not possess the principal feature of goods. It is the basis of labour, but has not been freed from the old-established kinship links nor separated from control over the production process. Consequently, there is a considerable measure of coincidence between geographical space and the social division of labour.

Capital, the social relationship characterised by the existence of a wage-earning class and the adding of value to money in the economic sphere through the purchase and sale of the labour force, dominates the economic edifice of the Malagasy social function but is not tending to develop in any obvious way within that edifice. Although outside Malagasy territory trading capital is only one element in the capital exploitation process, within Malagasy space it dominates the other forms of production and brings them into submission, though without changing their nature. The result is a very wide diversity in forms of production from one geographical area to another.

The geographical regions described above afford practical illustrations of the complexity of socio-economic space, making it possible to define socio-economic systems which are specific, yet at the same time become meaningful through being integrated within trading 'space' and through the domination of trading capital.

Madagascar takes a place in the international division of labour, and has its own inter-regional division of labour; in the production of *goods* it exhibits diversity in the location of rural and industrial production (industries serving the home market are located in the centre of the country, export industries on the coast); for the circulation of goods, a pyramid system extends from the import-export, insurance and freight companies in the capital and the major provincial towns down to the bushland intermediaries in the villages. The majority of individuals are involved in trading relationships, though not exclusively so and to varying degrees from one geographical area to another.

Malagasy space is polarised in terms of an economic system long dominated by trading capital within the framework of the trading economy. The economic base is constituted, for the most part, by cash crops grown in the East and North-West, which are marketed by the import-export companies and their various subsidiaries; meanwhile, consumer products are imported for the Europeans and the country's own urban élite. The townspeople live mainly on import and export levies and distributive margins in the modern sector, with the help of one-sided trading in provisions; the towns have a commercial, administrative and industrial function while the countryside has a productive function. The hierarchical trading between towns and bushland can be accounted for by the hierarchical nature of the internal/external relationship.

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1. There is a good deal of literature on kinship relations: Poirier, *Ethnologie régionale*, Paris, Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, 1972, p. 1608; I. Rakoto, *Parenté et mariage en droit traditionnel malgache*, Paris, PUF, 1971, p. 142; Bloch, *Placing the dead: tombs, ancestral villages and kinship organisation in Madagascar*, London seminar, 1972, p. 241; Ramarimoana, Verin, 'Le système de parenté Merina', *Annales de l'université de Madagascar*, Tananarive, 1964.

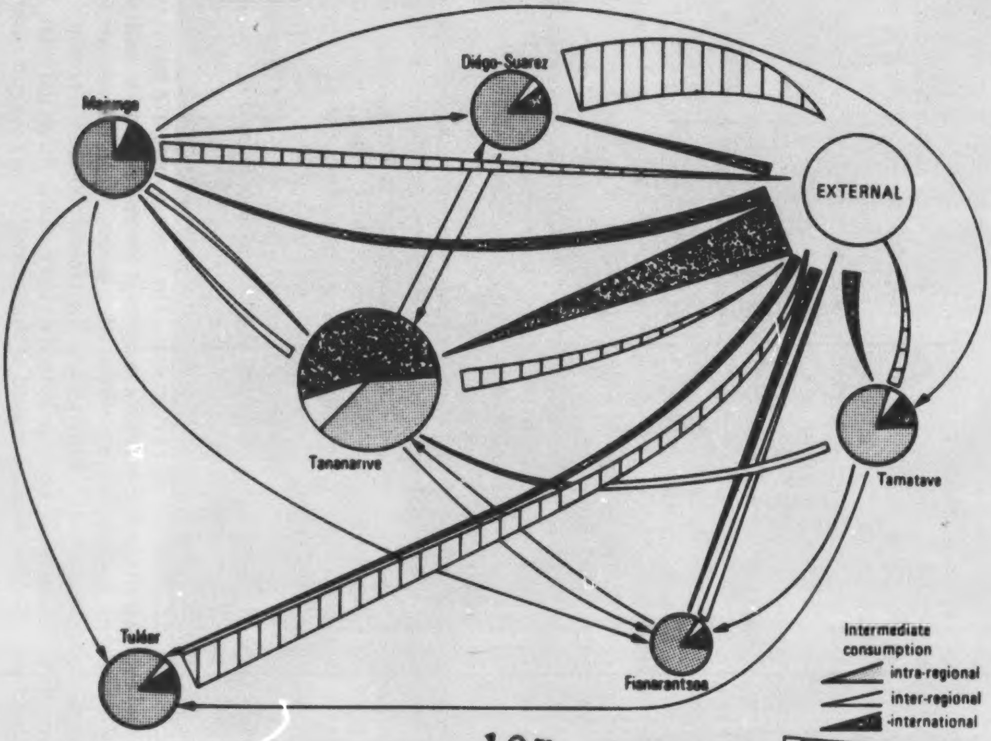
Majunga
Diégo-Suarez
EXTERNAL
Tananarive
Tamatave
Tuléar
Fianarantsoa
Intermediate consumption
intra-regional
inter-regional
-international
exports

FIGURE 1. *Intermediate consumption of the six provinces and external trade, Madagascar, 1962.*

The very wide regional diversities could perhaps be summed up by saying that in a society dependent on the outside world and dominated by trading capital, the East and North specialise in cash crops, the highly populated Centre specialises in foodstuffs and industry, while the very sparsely populated West and South specialise in livestock breeding: trade flows of provisions in return for livestock, or cash crops against provisions, bring about the inter-regional links—though this is to paint a very broad picture.

For a strategical view of this economic space, the provinces can be grouped according to their socio-economic features, and the urban areas can be contrasted with their rural counterparts.[1]

Intermediate consumption shown intra-regionally, inter-regionally and internationally sheds some light on the polarisation of the principal regions (see Figure 1); exports derive for the most part from Tulear and Diego Suarez; imports go largely to the province of Tananarive; the intra-regional share of consumption is very high except for the province of Tananarive, which thus constitutes a nodal region, a focal point for its neighbours.

The school plays an essential role in the twofold process of conflict between trading and non-trading relations and capitalist versus non-capitalist relations: in the first place, schooling plays an important part in liberating the labour force and spreading goods; the spread of education has become essential to the spread of trading relations. Secondly, it dispenses the attitudes and aptitudes which enable its pupils to take their place within the technical and social division of labour in the capitalist sector, while at the same time constituting an 'intellectual army in reserve' for accumulation needs.

This presentation highlights the value of a regional study to understand social relationships: in a capitalist society, in which social agents are involved in trading relationships, the analysis of social classes becomes a question of the technical and social division of labour, rendering the spatial distinction secondary; but in a society where kinship and ethnic relations still carry weight, and the State has yet to achieve full socio-political integration, social stratification cannot be studied independently of the various spaces of reference; hence both the importance and also the unusual complexity of the subject of the present study.[2]

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1. On the polarisation of Malagasy economy space, see Bernard, *L'industrialisation à Madagascar*, ORSTOM, 1962; Gendarme, *L'économie de Madagascar*, Cujas, 1963; Perrin, *La programmation à base régionale*, Tananarive, 1962 (roneo); Vaurs, *Madagascar—une économie désarticulée*, Tananarive, Commissariat au Plan, 1968.
2. Both in neo-classical and marxist analysis the State tends to be 'effaced', being taken either as a means of revealing individual preferences which cannot be expressed through the market, or as a mere proxy for the interests of the dominant social classes defined in economic terms. The assumptions might in any case be challenged in the case of western capitalist societies in the former colonies, where it seems especially risky to assume that economic considerations (market or capital) take precedence over politics. In the extreme, the opposite can be observed; in a developing nation, where the process of national construction is very random, the formation of the machinery of government can be regarded as occurring before the formation of social classes, since it is through access to the government machine that the various groups can constitute

## B. Space and hierarchical structure of the education system

The present study is concerned only with the school system, not with the Malagasy education system as a whole. The school system is defined as a *continuous set of graded networks* dispensing a training whose principal function is to allocate individuals to the various posts as defined by division of labour in the trade sector and in the state apparatus.[1] What distinguishes schools from traditional education is the separation of education from the other social functions and from the production place, the continuity and gradation in training levels, and the specialisation of a corps of teachers. This school system, originally introduced on a foreign pattern, has historically clashed with the various traditional education systems; it is itself a bone of contention and remains highly diversified.

The school as an institution forging 'modern educational relationships' conflicts with 'traditional' education; the conflicts can be analysed with reference to kinship relationships and the socio-economic and socio-political spaces defined above.

### *1. Kinship and school relationships*

The school, as the place in which the individual is socialised within a wider than family context, clashes to a greater or lesser extent with the family unit. In a village environment, the school dispenses a form of knowledge utterly unrelated to the clan world in terms of language, the values imparted, and the levels of awareness achieved; whereas for a nuclear family in a town, the school is a logical extension of family education.[2]

### *2. Socio-economic space and the school*

As an institution in which knowledge is acquired away from production activity, and dispensed by a specialist corps, the school causes money to circulate; it has to be financed by individuals and thus leads to their involvement in the monetary economy.

Since the pupils are expected to take their place in accordance with the technical and social division of labour, the school helps to 'liberate' the work force from kinship ties and the old-style economic system; it dispenses the qualifications, aptitudes and attitudes required by the production and administrative machines.

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themselves as social classes, acquire an economic base and become economically bourgeois. The inversion of the marxist pattern requires emphasis on the struggle for place alongside the class struggle.

[1] This definition is modelled on one by A. Vinokur.

[2] No scientific work has been done on the links between kinship relations and the Malagasy school system; the present author broaches the subject in *Economie et enseignement à Madagascar*, Paris, IIEP, 1976, p. 410; in a thesis entitled *Economie de l'éducation*, Nancy, 1967, A. Vinokur has made a fascinating study of family strategy towards schooling.

At this level, however, the school possesses a considerable degree of autonomy, since it is a feature of the labour force as a commodity to be mobile, adaptable as to time and space, and thus to be reproduced independently of other economic activity.[1]

### *3. Socio-political space and the school*

Historically, the school was seen as an apanage of the State: it represents an outpost, within the village community, of political society as a whole; a factor of integration in a national space of reference, though it must be understood that integration does not have the same meaning for the individuals involved.

In a rural environment, the primary school is alien to the village world;[2] it reports to a central authority, is based in practice on 'modern' pedagogical techniques, and claims to include all aspects of culture within its purview. Individual reactions to this institution may be to refuse to have anything to do with it, or to agree to learn the means of communication with the central authorities (i.e. to read, write and count) or to aspire to a place in the *Fanjakana* world (visually, the school is generally the only solid building in the village (apart from the tomb), with a flag flying from a mast)—which does not necessarily imply a complete break with the village universe. It is at secondary level that the real separation with the village world occurs, geographically and psychologically; the pupil becomes a *Tafika*—one who has crossed over.

The school's threefold relationship leads to an educational system with both *a hierarchy of levels* and *differentiated networks* according to region.[3]

First, there are the various *levels* of schooling, with different geographical locations: first-cycle primary schools are based on communes, second-cycle

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1. On the exteriority of the reproduction of the labour force, see Lautiez, *La reproduction de la force de travail*, thesis, Dauphine, 1975; C. Pourcet looks extensively at this process in his thesis currently under way, *La dynamique du sous-développement à Madagascar*.
2. The school is perceived by the villagers as an alien institution forming part of the *Fanjakana* (power); the teacher is a foreigner who must remain within his pedagogical role, provide basic training in thinking and, perhaps, enable some of the pupils to become *tafika* (one who has crossed over). See Chandon Moet Vohimasina, op. cit., chapter VIII; Guérin, 'Formation professionnelle du jeune paysan', Terre Malgache, No. 5; Pavageau, *Jeunes paysans sans terres à Madagascar*, third cycle thesis, 1974.
3. The main sources used are official documents. BDPA, *L'enseignement agricole secondaire à Madagascar*, Volumes I and II, Paris, 1966; CEGOS, *Perspectives de développement des enseignements supérieurs malgaches*, Paris, 1971; Granger, Etude sur les cadres moyens à Madagascar, Unesco, Paris, 17/8/1962; IEDES, *Les rendements et l'enseignement du premier degré en Afrique francophone et à Madagascar*, Volume II, Paris, 1972; Ministry of Cultural Affairs and National Education:
    1. Statistical yearbook (annual)
    2. Situation et orientation de l'enseignement à Madagascar. Avant-projet de la réforme fondamentale de l'enseignement et de la formation, April 1971.
    3. Evolution de l'enseignement technique court à Madagascar, 1961-68, February 1968
    4. L'enseignement technique long public à Madagascar, 1961-64, January 1968
    5. Situation de l'enseignement à Madagascar, 1972; Coulomb, Deblé, Lê Thanh Kôi, *Rapport du groupe de planification de l'éducation à Madagascar*, 19/1 - 19/5, Paris, Unesco, 1963; L'enseignement à Madagascar en 1975 (Ministry of National Education), June 1977.

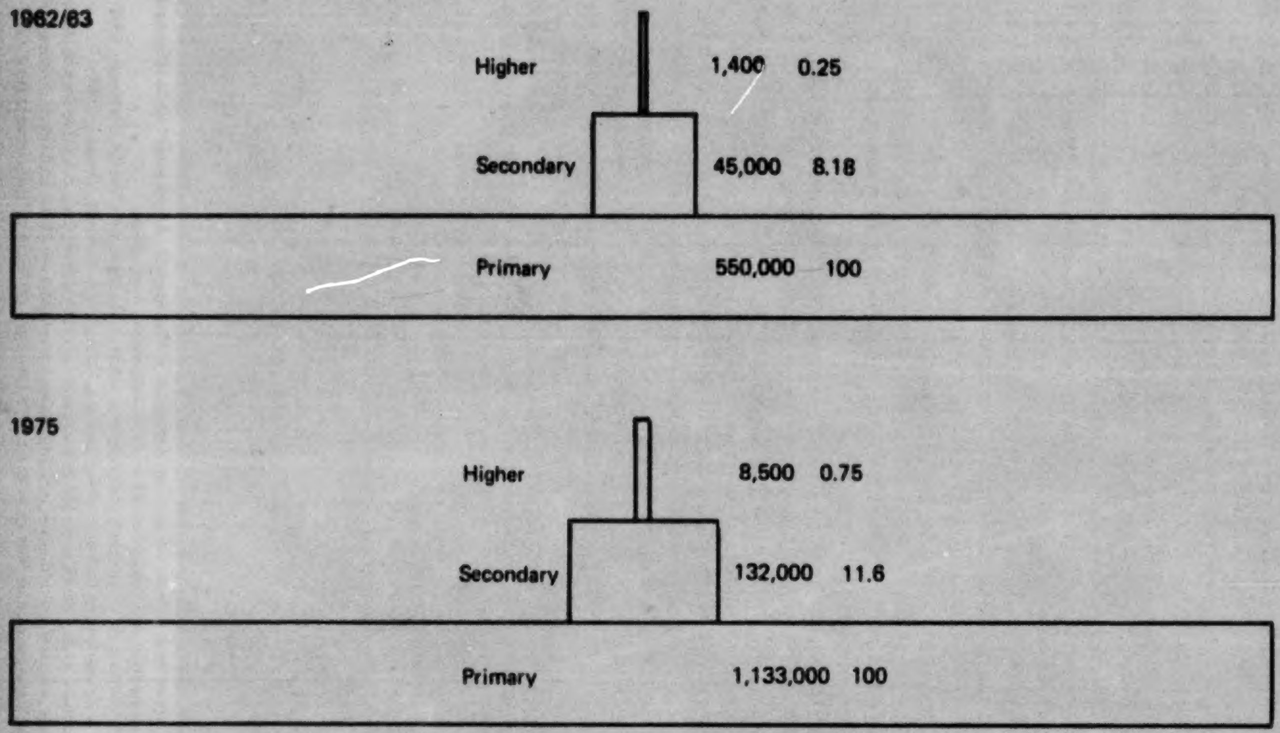

FIGURE 2. *Pyramids of enrolments, 1962/63 and 1975.*

primary on cantons, first-cycle secondary on major towns or sub-prefectures, second-cyle secondary on province capitals, and higher education on Tananarive. The present study does not cover the other branches of education (agricultural, technical, professional), which are marginal quantitatively (less than 10 per cent of total enrolments).

In 1975, there were more than one million primary, 130,000 secondary and 8,500 higher-education enrolments (see Figure 2). The ratio for each level of teaching was thus 100, 11.6 and 0.75; in 1950/51 the ratio was 100, 6.6 and 0.1 and in 1962/63 100, 8 and 0.25.

Secondly, schools form part of *networks*[1] which are differentiated geographically, and broadly match the social stratification; these networks, which have been continuously modified throughout history, took the following pattern in 1972:

Primary education normally lasted six years, and was divided into three distinct, two-year cycles: CP (cours préparatoire), CE (cours élémentaire) and CM (cours moyen).

In primary education there were three types of school working to a short, four-year cycle (CP1, CP2, CE1 and CE2): EPC (Communal first-cycle), ETP (traditional state school) and ETp (traditional private school), together with two types of school covering the full six-year cycle (CP, CE, CM1 and CM2): EPP (state primary) and EPp (private primary); 40 per cent of CM2 pupils moved on to secondary education (20 per cent in the state schools).

In secondary education there were six types of school: state and private sector Colleges of general education (CEG), together with technical education Colleges (CET) working to a four-year cycle (having 6th, 5th, 4th and 3rd forms); state and private sector *lycées* for general education, and technical *lycées* working to the seven-year cycle (6th form to Terminal); for access to higher secondary education, CEG leavers are selected very rigorously—less than 20 per cent move up, whereas more than 75 per cent of *lycée* pupils do.

The networks differ from one administrative region to another (see Figure 3); a pupil at one of the three short-cycle primary schools in a rural commune has practically no chance of reaching higher education, but a pupil at a Tananarive nursery school should in the normal course of events proceed right through to university.

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[1] The theory of networks has been developed in France by Baudelot and Establet in *L'école capitaliste en France*, Maspero, and *L'école divisée*, Maspero. The authors contrast professional primary (PP) and higher secondary (SS). We cannot however agree with their analysis because methodologically, they mix up the two social classes of a production mode with the classes of a concrete social formation, deriving the complexity of the school system on highly debatable logic from two opposing networks; the networks one studies at the level of the school as an institution clearly derive from a social stratification, not a class structure, and are much more complex than the PP/SS opposition.

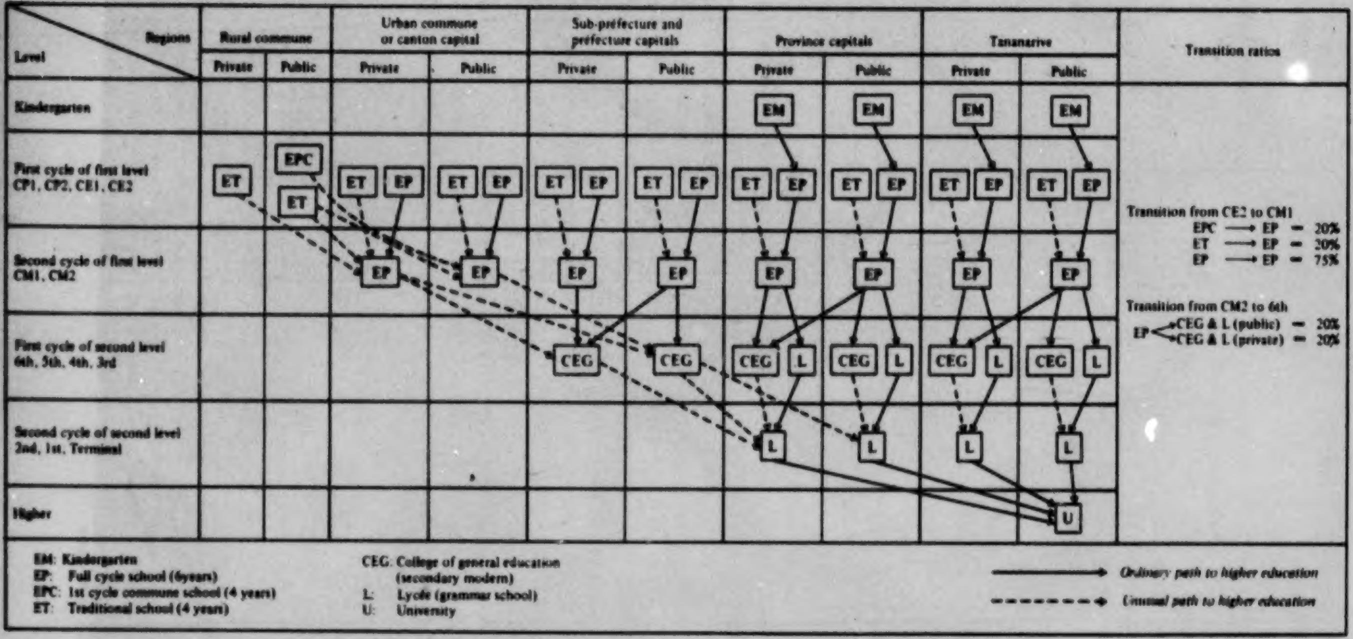
Regions
Level
Rural commune
Urban commune or canton capital
Sub-préfecture and préfecture capitals
Province capitals
Tananarive
Private
Public
Transition ratios
Kindergarten
First cycle of first level CP1, CP2, CE1, CE2
Second cycle of first level CM1, CM2
First cycle of second level 6th, 5th, 4th, 3rd
Second cycle of second level 2nd, 1st, Terminal
Higher
EM
EPC
ET
EP
CEG
L
U
Transition from CE2 to CM1
EPC ⟶ EP = 20%
ET ⟶ EP = 20%
EP ⟶ EP = 75%
Transition from CM2 to 6th
EP ⟶ CEG & L (public) = 20%
EP ⟶ CEG & L (private) = 20%
EM: Kindergarten
EP: Full cycle school (6years)
EPC: 1st cycle commune school (4 years)
ET: Traditional school (4 years)
CEG: College of general education (secondary modern)
L: Lycée (grammar school)
U: University
Ordinary path to higher education
Unusual path to higher education

FIGURE 3. *Madagascar: the networks of the school system.*

## C. Working assumptions

### *1. Reference regions*

This long conceptual detour enables us to construct the theoretical subject of study: the link between space and the school system in the case of the Malagasy social formation.

On the one hand, the geographical differences need to be broached from the standpoint of how the social relationships fit together; to the extent that they are not exclusively concerned with trading, the spatial dimension of social relationships is crucial; social stratification makes it necessary to identify ethnic and family disparities, which can be empirically studied within the framework of administrative regions and by making distinctions between Tananarive and province headquarters, prefectures, sub-prefectures, cantons and communes.

From another angle, the *school system* reproduces social structures, which need to be studied at family, political and economic level; empirically, these links can be analysed by administrative region.

The relationship between region (space) and school (school system) is thus mediated by social relations, and by the way in which they are lived and actualised by the actors who both support and create the system; social relationships come into existence only through the complementary activities of the individuals who reproduce and transform them; and the representation systems mediate between structure and practice.[1]

To examine these links in the field we shall therefore look first at the *administrative* regions, which are the administrative and planning areas on the supply side; then we shall look at the *geographical* regions, as these are where most of the explanatory criteria (rural, urban, ethnic, religious, parental status etc.) can be correlated on the demand side.

The first hypothesis to be verified is that within each administrative region (Tananarive, province capitals, prefectures, sub-prefectures and communes) some fairly specific ethnic, socio-political, economic and family relationships will be found to affect the school. The main differences to be tested will be in the contrasts between capitals and other large towns, town versus country, rich provinces versus poor provinces etc.

### *2. The dynamics of regional disparities*

It is hoped to account for the dynamics of regional disparities by showing that they are governed in the first place by the specific logic of *supply* and *demand* for schooling and the way in which these *interact*, and then by the mechanisms of

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1. See Nicolai. *Structures sociales et comportement économique*. Paris. PUF. 1960. p. 322. 'Et le poussent jusqu'au bout'. The present study draws largely on the analytical method of Nicolai, who endeavours to link social relations with social practices and levels of awareness on the part of the social actors; this liaison appears to the present author to justify linking studies of structural determinism (social reproduction) with those which analyse behaviour independently of social structures (neo-classical school).

*social reproduction* operating at the level of both the individual situated socially and of social relationships among individuals.

On the basis of these assumptions, the dynamics of the school system and the resulting regional disparities are essentially the outcome of two factors:

(a) *Demand* for schooling by family units (nuclear or lineal) is a function of many factors, such as educational level, social class, number of children, income and capital, religion, ethnic group etc; this demand is assumed to be differentiated spatially: each family unit has a certain 'educational capital' at its disposal which it endeavours at least to amortize through its children. In a society whose traditional social relationships are being destroyed, individuals regard the school as a means to finding a place in the technical and social division of labour; social groups have strategies with which to reproduce or advance within the social hierarchy, *so that educational demand pressure is stratified by group and region.*[1]

(b) The *supply* of educational services by the State, missions or private sector profit-seeking schools is segmented and embodied in levels and networks; it is diversified qualitatively (length of school day, staff/pupil ratios, teacher qualifications); the scale on which the service can be supplied depends on the overall volume of available resources and the criteria by which they are allocated; the capacities of the economy and the State to finance and absorb pupils confer a certain place structure upon school entrants and leavers which is affected by the trend in pupil numbers. *The supply of schooling is therefore spatially limited and stratified.*

Supply and demand interact, generating and stimulating one another, resulting in cumulative processes leading to polarised developments in the school system.

Supply and demand cannot be ascertained empirically, only their resultant can be expressed in terms of school attendance in the differentiated networks, which imposes certain expenditures on users and suppliers of schooling and takes the form of production and consumption of educational services.

Demand will be estimated from aspiration surveys in Madagascar, work by social and economic anthropologists, together with household budget surveys providing some indication of the demand expressed.

Supply will be estimated from existing work on State decision criteria and regionalised education plans.

Information about school attendance is mainly drawn from official education ministry sources.

It is argued here that during the *precolonial* and *colonial* periods schooling was imposed as part of the extension of the State, which relied on missionaries and sought to disrupt earlier social relationships; it was the logic of the *supply* side which determined the course of events and the main concern was with *primary* education. The school system was no natural growth, no response to any need for education; it must be analysed in terms of an arbitrary cultural pattern imposed by one group or nation using physical and symbolic violence; the school system was in total opposition to the previous education system, reflecting the conflict between trading relations and the other social relationships: hence the stiff resistance to it during the colonial and precolonial era. After 1945 however, and particularly since *independence*, once trading relations had developed it was the *demand side* whose logic began to predominate: the main concern was now with *secondary* and *higher* education, as the various social groups looked increasingly to schooling as the medium through which to reproduce themselves. This is not to say that the State no longer imposes schooling, since there are regions where the opposite is the case, especially for primary schooling.

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[1] Demand for schooling is hard to pin down precisely, since compulsory attendance partly creates demand, while the latter cannot always be expressed in money terms. Certain indicators are however available with which to assess demand: school fees for private education, expenditures borne by families in state education, spontaneous building of schools by villagers, political pressures upon elected representatives, aspiration level surveys.

It would be wrong though to think solely in terms of supply, demand and the social agent: while this certainly brings out the *behaviour* of the social actors, the inequalities due to family background, and *social mobility* or movement from one stratum to another, it would imply that the social structure is external to the analysis—an assumption which is by no means neutral ideologically, since it masks those social relations and conflicts which transcend social agents and the system of places which these agents occupy.

More than the effects of supply and demand, what is at issue is a process by which regional disparities *reproduce themselves.*[1] These disparities can be analysed at one of two levels.

First, the training of the *social agents* who find places as determined by the division of labour. Here schools reproduce regional disparities, though in the case of a dramatic increase in schooling the result is to some extent to redress the balance between one region and another. This process can be analysed in terms of the *regional origin* of pupils, and how individuals are situated socially and regionally. We shall therefore draw upon surveys by the educational and occupational guidance service in which regional and social disparities can be correlated.

Secondly, at the *social relationships level*, the school participates as an institution in the reproduction of social relationships, i.e. in the system of places occupied by each agent; at this level the school should be analysed as a system tied into the state apparatus, whose spatial location is determined by the *social relations structure;* the school is no single entity but consists of a hierarchy of subsystems at different levels. It is a place in which groups can become aware of the prevailing contradictions.

The school system has a history: provision of education facilities is a long-term process; most of the staff teaching in 1978 were trained under a colonial type of school system; the history of education is still present in the collective memory (the struggle for assimilation, for example) and exerts a powerful influence on structures and attitudes; spatial disparities are thus the outcome of a long historical process. We shall endeavour to analyse this historical process by drawing upon the few existing historical works which deal with it. The link between schooling and the reproduction of the social agents can best be studied synchronically, while the link between schooling and the transformation of social relationships will be considered diachronically.

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[1] The term reproduction is arguable since it corresponds to functionalist sociology, where there are disfunctions and not contradictions; reproduction is the contradictory unit of invariance and change so long as revolution does not occur. See Barel, 'La reproduction sociale', *Anthropos*, 1970.

This is the phenomenon which it is hoped to describe in reviewing the historical process by which regional disparities have come about, and offering some insights into the process by which they reproduce themselves.

# II. The historical development of regional disparities

To understand the school system in the form it now takes, of a hierarchy of stratified networks geographically distributed, one must go back in history as far as the emergence of the state apparatus and the arrival of the churches upon the scene. In some countries colonised very long ago, schools date from the time of the colonial State, but in others they emerged during the precolonial era.

Thus in *Cameroon*, schools gradually penetrated from coastal areas into the hinterland.[1] In the *coastal areas* missionaries set up schools before the country was colonised, usually where there were trading stations; the colonial power relied upon a small educated élite as its buffer between the colonial administration and the rural populations. In the *North*, however, colonialism had no economic or ideological forerunners, except perhaps for some remote trading; the colonial state was implanted with difficulty and administered through Peul state leaders, maintaining order without involving the people in trading relationships. Schools were not really introduced until 1945, with the development of plantations and major civil engineering projects. Two distinctly different colonisation systems meant that schooling did not develop in the same way; regional disparities must be regarded as reflecting internal social relationships and the survival strategies of the various ethnic groups.

The same process occurred in most African countries; schools were generally introduced in coastal areas, where manpower was available and there were opportunities for foreign trade; religious schools often predate direct colonisation.

In *Madagascar*, however, the school was developed as an institution in association with the apparatus of the precolonial state at the beginning of the 19th century, growing outward from the central Imerina area in the form of networks which gradually attained the coastal periphery.

It is essential to be aware of this historical background if one is to understand not just the quantitative disparities but also the contemporary attitudes towards the school as an institution. Often imposed by violence, schools historically encountered fierce resistance; the history of education thus reflects clashes between Merina and outlying social formations, between the central government (*Fanjakana*) and the village communities (*Fokon'olona*), between colonial power and Malagasy powers, between government power and religious power.

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[1] See P. Hugon, *Analyse du sous-développement en Afrique noire. L'exemple du Cameroun*, Paris, PUF, 1968; J.-Y. Martin, *Social differentiation and regional disparities: educational development in Cameroon*, in this volume (pp. 21-113).

It is helpful to distinguish between precolonial, colonial and post-colonial periods.[1]

## A. Regional disparities during the precolonial era

Three periods in education must be considered here: education in traditional production modes, the emergence of schools in association with the Merina State at the beginning of the 19th century, then the evolution of regional disparities during the course of that century.

### *1. Education and traditional production modes*

Before kingdoms were set up in Madagascar, society can be rather broadly described as having been organised on a *kinship* basis; dependence was usually patrilineal and residence patrilocal;[2] the *foko*, clan of individuals having a common ancestor, was hierarchical; the lineal chief enforced respect for prescribed standards and ancestral customs, assigned roles within the group and presided over all important events in the life of its members. The chief was the repository of technical knowledge and ancestral beliefs; mediator between living and dead, between the forces of nature and the life of the society, he controlled an organisation designed to ensure cohesion among group members and perpetuate the system.

*Education* took the form of gradual assimilation of knowledge, dispensed by the group as a whole but controlled by the elders; what tradition had codified was sanctified by religion and reproduced through education. Lineal societies have simple modes of reproduction.[3]

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1. For a general study of education in Madagascar, see the author's IIEP study. Also, Rabenjamina, J. M., *Les dimensions politiques du système d'enseignement malgache*, EESDEG, 1971 (roneo); Ratsimbarison and Tsalama, 'L'enseignement à Madagascar', in *Madagascar Renouveau* No. 119, 1977, pp. 44-54.
2. The characterisation of the Merina social formation by the asiatic mode of production is discussed by, mainly, Boiteau, *Contribution à l'histoire de la nation malgache*, Paris, Ed. Sociales, 1958, p. 431, and the same author's *Les droits sur la terre dans la société pré-coloniale. Contribution à l'étude du mode de production asiatique*, Paris, CERM, 1960, pp. 135-168; and Commarmond, *Le village et l'histoire*, op. cit., pp. 57-60.
3. This is a highly simplified model: before kingdoms were set up the country's history featured many waves of migration and much contact with the outside world, especially the arabs who contributed so much to the stock of ideas: their *misora* or *ombiasy* (diviners/healers) were favoured as counsellors by the Sakalava rulers; anthologies of arab lore (*sorabe*) on such matters as divination, astrology, magic, written in the Malagasy language but using arabic script, appeared in the 14th century in the Antemoro kingdom and were to provide the ideological background to the Sakalava conquest. Writing, and the first instances of the transmission of written knowledge by initiates, may therefore be regarded as having appeared in the 14th century.

This traditional production mode gradually changed, over history, as the organisation of the state was superimposed on groupings based on *kinship* and ultimately led to groupings based on *place of residence*.

### 2. *The extension of the Merina State and the emergence of schools*

The *Merina* kingdom began with Ralambo (1575-1610), a despot who controlled water and manpower and thus accumulated economic and military power; the need for access to the sea and control over commerce with foreign traders being one of the paramount factors in its territorial expansion, the social formation was dominated by a system close to the tributary or 'asiatic' mode of production, and by the fact that it was stratified into nobles (*Andriana*), freemen (*Hova*) and slaves (*Andevo*).[1]

This 'asiatic' production mode was greatly systematised under Andrianampoinimerina (1787-1810): the king declared himself chief landowner, the State developed the dyke and canal system which both helped to protect the kingdom and improved productivity for the rice-growers; acting through the *Tompomenakely* (lords), the State levied a surplus from the village communities in the form of tribute or forced labour, though domestic slaves could sometimes relieve a freeman of his forced-labour duties. The outcome was a system in which village communities dominated by kinship coexisted with the emerging State; the *Kabary*, or King's speech, played an essential role in political unity as the point of decision for all concerned.[2] In Merina space, two production systems interlocked: at the centre (the Tananarive plain) were water facilities, egalitarian distribution of newly conquered lands, emphasis on service to the State; on the outskirts, large estates were awarded to the dominant groups; the local peoples were made to serve individuals; slaves had a productive role; the system as a whole was of the semi-slave type. Trading was associated with the tributary production mode; the sovereign was the leading seller of slaves and meat in the markets, controlling trade in merchandise and other foodstuffs. The circulation of money acquired importance very early in Imerina, both internally (for public markets, *Tsena*) and externally (trade control).

From 1810 onwards, two critical factors modified the evolution of the social formation of the highlands: under Radama I (1810-1828) Madagascar opened up to the outside world and became a pawn in French-British rivalry; the *extension of the Merina monarchy* led to an increasingly complex military bureaucracy and extended the use of a codified language. These factors combined to alter the role of the *Kabary* (speech), which continued to exist, but no longer as a point of decision among the various groups. *Taratsy* (written texts) became the principal medium of government and administration, transmitting decisions taken centrally to an extending territory, reflecting a remoter relationship between rulers and ruled. It was in this new context that schooling began to develop in 1820 under the influence of the British mission (London Missionary Society) to provide executives for an expanding monarchy.[1]

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[1] It was under the reign of Andrianampoinimerina (1787-1810) that the Merina began to conquer the Highlands as a whole; their conquest progressed further under the reigns of Radama I and Ranavalona I, and extended to other regions. Social stratification was highly emphasised as far back as the time of Andrianampoinimerina, who was assisted in his bid for power by the rich slave-traders. The first important phase of differentiation occurs from 1770 with the development of trade in Imerina and the control of the slave trade for Foulpointe. The main work consulted on the Imerina is Callet, *Tantaran 'ny Andriana* (History of the kings). *L'histoire des rois d'Imerina: interprétation d'une tradition orale*, Paris, Klinchsieck, 1974. There are no fewer than 161 titles in a bibliography for the former Imerina, including travellers' accounts and ethnographic and historic documents gathered by the missionaries.

[2] According to F. Raison, the Kabary speech reflected not power but the absence of power; it was not linear, persuasive or rigorous but discursive, circular and participatory; its purpose was not to persuade but to lead to a consensus.

### 3. *The evolution of the school system and regional disparities under the Merina monarchy (1810-1896)*

Radama I regarded schools as a means of training an élite to serve the State (in his chancellery, census office, schools and army); the teaching was mainly about religion, in the Malagasy language, with the Bible as the only schoolbook; but vocational and technical training were also provided from the outset, with the aim of training up a corps of senior state technicians; by 1835, 15,000 Imerina people could read and write.[2] Ranavalona I was subsequently to oppose the British schools; but from the reign of Radama II (1861-1863) schooling began to develop again, sometimes through compulsion (with an educational *corvée*);

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[1] The Malagasy word *sekoly* comes from the English word 'school'. The introduction of schools and christianity into Imerina has been treated in a number of studies, of which the most important are: Françoise Raison, *L'échange inégal de la langue: spiritualité et ecclésiologie protestantes*, in which she writes (p. 3):

> 'The power relationship in the introduction of a written culture is twofold. It includes an ambiguous external face, on the western side: the desire to receive a theoretical training (alphabet, writing etc.) without being dominated ideologically; but an internal face too, for it operated inside Madagascar in two ways: the non-Merina populations, defeated and conquered together, to be administered from afar off, through civil orders, a convenient procedure yet at the same time a symbolic demonstration of the rupture between conqueror and defeated; and within the Merina population, between the groups close to power and the capital who derived the advantage of schooling and those who were too remote or in too servile an occupation, who remained faithful to the forces of ancestral communications, and whose social marginality increased and was justified in the new relationship of force between written and oral.'

Munth. *La Bible à Madagascar.* The first two translations of the Malagasy New Testament. Oslo, 1969, 224 pp.

S. Ayache, *Raambona - L'historien* (1809-1855), Tananarive, 356 pp., a series presenting the work of one of the first inhabitants educated in England under Radama I.

Deschamps, *Histoire de Madagascar*, Paris, Berger Levrault, 1965. It is estimated that in 1824 there were 1,000 pupils and by 1828 2,300, of whom one-third were girls, and 23 schools (of which 20 were in Imerina); in 1931, when the schools were abolished, there were 4,000 pupils. According to Jones, in 1827, 4,000 individuals could read and write, compared with only six in 1820. The schools were abolished in 1835; the last missionaries left in 1836. The bureaucracy, which partly overlapped with the army, was made up of unpaid cadres who participated in the tributary exploitation by achieving commercial monopoly; bureaucracy and commerce were thus merely two sides of the same reality.

[2] Pupil estimates are 2,000 in 1868, 20,000 in 1871, 40,000 in 1879, 95,000 in 1886, 137,000 in 1894.

competition between protestant and Jesuit schools reflected the rivalry between France and Britain over Madagascar.

At this time the school's function was essentially religious and administrative: to the *rulers* it was a way of reckoning up and registering the population, training a bureaucratic élite recruited from higher statutory groups; to the *missionaries* its purpose was to evangelise, open the way to Western values, and inculcate 'good moral behaviour'; education was kept deliberately remote from the rural world and traditional beliefs. Higher education (*Kolejy*, Palace School, Normal School for protestants, Christian Brothers for the catholics) trained teachers and clerics for the missions, and senior officials for the State.

Historically, then, there were two forces at work as schooling was introduced: Christian *evangelism*, and the strengthening of the Merina State. Evangelism implied schooling, translation of the Bible into Malagasy, a break with ancestral beliefs; extension of the monarchy implied the transmission of written messages, accountancy in respect of men and goods, ideological submission to the central authority. The London Missionary Society schools played a very important part in building up a middle class, a body of officials, traders, soldiers and intellectuals, who made use of the new religion and foreign culture to form themselves into a class utterly distinct from the rural world. The British mission schools prepared the ground for a special relationship between Madagascar and Britain, to the detriment of relations with France. (The principle *cujus regio ejus religio*, that a nation should embrace its ruler's religion, may be applicable here.)

Social and cultural power were mainly in the hands of the Hova and Andriana, though in theory only the latter shared power with the sovereign; a Hova oligarchy gained increasing influence, not very noticeably up to the end of the 18th century but to spectacular effect in 1829, when they placed Ranavalona I upon the throne (1829-1861). The growth of internal trade, the slave trade, and the control exercised by Tamatave fostered the emergence of a trading middle class which encouraged the queen to oppose the Europeans in control of foreign trade, break off relations with the outside world and halt the schooling drive. The logic of the mode of production impelled the sovereign to exact levies on all foreign trading (controlling import and export prices, customs duties, reselling products on the home market); the Hova in the North-East (Tamatave route) and North-West (Majunga route) took advantage of the spread of schooling to extend their business; the queen sought to prevent this by breaking off foreign relations, but never altogether succeeded in doing so.

The spread of schooling matched that of the Merina State. The *first zone* to have schools was Tananarive; then they gradually spread through Imerina and the Betsileo country; schools were set up between 1862 and 1880; in 1881, the Code of 305 Articles made education theoretically compulsory throughout the kingdom and, consequently, in the Highlands; a Ministry of Education was established, though schooling was still provided and financed by the missions.[1]

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[1] The code of the 305 articles laid down, in articles 266 to 289, the rules for compulsory education: for boys and girls from eight and over up to the age of 16, attendance was compulsory on pain of

In theory, education was compulsory for all children between the ages of eight and sixteen; schools were opened by authorisation of the head of teaching, built at the expense of the villages, which also paid the teachers. The primary level provided basic education and was followed by a higher level; each village was assigned a *masaivaho* or superintendent; there was a system of fines to ensure regular attendance by teachers and pupils. Country schools were directed by unqualified Malagasy teachers, but elementary and secondary schools in the towns were run by experienced, trained teachers, many of them European. Compulsory education thus played an essential part in forming an educated élite capable of practising a skilled trade, or going into business, or becoming government officials, despite the speculative rather than practical tendency of what was taught, and the poorer quality of the country schools compared with those in the towns.[1] However, unlike the Japanese system of the Meiji era, whose own tradition contained the seeds of progress, precolonial education in Madagascar remained a pawn in the rivalry between missions teaching different cultural models in different languages, protestant schools being mainly interested in the élite while catholic schools educated the rural and Andevo classes. Despite the 1881 Code, the central government had no real control over the system. By the end of the Merina monarchy country schools were beginning to be in jeopardy, but in 1895 there were estimated to be 135,000 pupils and 3,000 teachers.

The main thrust of the schooling drive was in the towns (especially Tananarive, population 70,000; Fianarantsoa, 5,000; Majunga, 5,000; and Tamatave, 8,000) and in the larger villages (between 1,000 and 4,000 inhabitants), where the missionaries' evangelical and rural impact was most pronounced. But the rural and coastal regions remained largely unaffected.

This brief historical survey covering a period of more than 70 years shows that the school network grew from the centre outwards and mainly involved the dominant statutory groups of the Merina monarchy. Except for the Betsileo country, very few schools were set up outside Imerina and most of those were for the children of Merina soldiers, officials and merchants. By the eve of the colonial period it was estimated that more than two-thirds of the pupils were in Imerina, the remainder in the Betsileo country and a few coastal town schools (400 pupils in Majunga, 650 in Anorantsangana).

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fines; however, those who had attained the first level of instruction could leave school; superintendents (*Masaivaho*) were attached to each school by the government. LMS pupils grew markedly between 1881 (10,000) and 1886 (100,000), compared with 70,000 in 1895.

[1] 'The social model inculcated in the protestant schools was that of Victorian England; they dreamed of railways and factories, but no instrument of analysis was dispensed with which to understand the rural world; the result was that a bureaucratic élite emerged which identified itself with the European world. In contrast, for the children of rural areas, or the Andevo, primary schooling was generally perceived as a liberation in development, masking the detour of the corvée and projecting well-being to a far-off horizon; in most cases all that happened was that the ancestor cult was transposed into learning about the ancestors of the Europeans (i.e. by reading the bible).' Françoise Raison, op. cit., p. 5.

## B. Regional disparities during the colonial era

French colonisation began with the protectorate (1865), which was followed by annexation in 1896. Colonists took the place of the precolonial government machine, abolished slavery and the *Tompomenakely* (possessors of fiefs), but made extensive use of the existing structure and the trained executives through whom to establish their power. In this sense, colonisation should be analysed as a dialectical process between the colonial apparatus and the local society.

The introduction and development of colonial schools find their origin both in the colonial project, as defined by the first two governors, Galliéni and Augagneur, and in the evolution of the colonial system; it is therefore possible to differentiate two very specific phases in the process of 'getting a return', coinciding with two distinct phases educationally.

### *1. The colonial project and the school*

Galliéni (1897-1905) had envisaged two administrative policies:[1] his first, the '*race policy*', was to break the 'Merina hegemony', according a substantial measure of autonomy to the regions under the form of a protectorate, to administer indirectly, and to develop schools in the provinces to stimulate the emergence of new leaders. His second, the *policy of assimilation*, had as its aim, on the basis of the Merina State structures, to extend French citizenship gradually to those who had received schooling and to give lower executive posts to the best educated, i.e. natives of the highlands.

Neither of the extreme policies was in fact implemented, but the first can be seen to have evolved towards the second.

Galliéni established official schools with a staff of Malagasy teachers trained in the regional schools, and diversified their regional location.[2] Under Augagneur, however, the anticlerical struggle led in 1907 to the disappearance of the church schools, and particularly the provincial teachers' training schools, which put the coastal areas at a heavy disadvantage.[1]

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[1] On the morrow of the conquest (6 August 1896) education was entirely provided by the missions (60,000 London Missionary Society pupils, 40,000 with the Norwegian mission, 30,000 with the catholic missionaries). Galliéni imposed the principle of lay schooling (see Circular dated 10.2.1897), compulsory French language teaching and professional education. 'In a new country, where everything must be started from scratch, the most important thing is to provide the natives with a practical, utilitarian education... later on, when the colony has become not only self-sufficient but can pay its sovereignty expenses, it will be advantageous to extend the programmes and introduce literature and sciences.' Galliéni, *Neuf ans à Madagascar*, op. cit., p. 53, 54. 'The school system must transform the young natives into faithful subjects, obedient to France, guiding their education towards industry, trade and agriculture, so that the colonists can have valuable assistants'. Galliéni reacted violently against what he called the 'abstract, mandarin nature of the English kind of teaching'; hence the creation of regional schools to train skilled artisans and rural manpower, and support for the catholic schools dispensing a French cultural model which was different from the English protestant schools.

[2] Gautier wrote 'Education is no longer the exclusive privilege of a small number of notables and bourgeois', see *Journal Officiel*, 18 June 1897.

During the period from the beginning of colonisation up to 1903 the colonists set up non-denominational schools but collaborated with the missionaries. The circulars of 5 October and 11 November 1896, followed by the decrees of 16 April 1899 and 25 November 1901 dealing with native education, laid down broad guidelines for practical, bilingual education at several levels. Missions were awarded grants for following the programmes of the regional apprenticeship and teacher-training schools; under the decree of March 1901 only schools whose teachers possessed the requisite qualifications were recognised. In 1903 the grants were abolished; there were 469 denominational schools attended by 46,000 pupils, and 280 rural primary schools, six regional schools and three higher schools with a total of 20,000 pupils. The decree of 23 November 1906 laid down strict standards for diplomas and educational premises. In 1910 there were 14 secondary schools with 726 pupils, and 781 primary schools with 45,000 pupils. For some time, occupational education was replaced by apprenticeship on-the-job.

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1. The schooling question in France influenced Madagascar in the context of anti-English and anti-Merina colonisation. Hence the twofold conflict between lay schools (love France and work) and religious schools (love God and your neighbour); also between protestant schools (love God and England) and Catholic schools (love God and France).

Lyautey, in his *Lettres du Sud de Madagascar, 1900-1902*, saw the most economic and adequate solution to the schooling problem in the teaching activities of the missionaries: 'In the most numerous and heavily populated regions in which the missions are established, official primary education becomes a pointless and burdensome expense... the missionaries should therefore be heavily subsidised... if any objection is raised about the relative weakness of the teaching generally provided by the missions, I would be prepared to suggest that this may be precisely their advantage. The modest package of French and general knowledge with which their pupils are equipped is probably all they will need for a long time, and official education will always be there to provide intensive instruction for as many cadet officials and clerical workers as may be necessary'. Since the missions dispensed moral and social intruction, as well as vocational and agricultural training, 'primary education along these lines, with less ambitious aims than today, would obviate a serious danger which is already imminent: the formation of a population with no proper social position, for whom there would be no jobs to offer, ready to form a class of malcontents and scroungers'.

Galliéni had withdrawn subsidies from private schools in 1903; Augagneur abolished a number of religious schools and prohibited the teaching of history in recognised schools. When Paul Minault told him that the point of teaching history to the pupils was to turn them into men, Augagneur replied 'it's not men we need, but labour'. 'To leave the missions, especially the protestant missions, the freedom they claim for their native followers as pastors and teachers is to prepare a generation of Malagasy who will be ill disposed to be faithful subjects to France.' (Augagneur). The number of primary pupils increased from 53,000 in 1907 to 110,000 in 1915 and 175,000 in 1930 (source: *L'enseignement à Madagascar en 1931*).

In 1905 there were 23,500 pupils in the official schools (of which 15,000 were in Imerina); 16,000 in the private sector schools (including 12,000 in Imerina); the effects of Augagneur's measures was long-lasting and in 1928 there were only 396 schools and nursery schools run by the Catholic missions, compared with 1,254 in 1905. (Source: P. Lhaude, *Madagascar 1832-1932: notre épopée missionnaire*, Paris, Ed. Plon, 1932). On the educational activities of the missions, see also Vaissière, *De l'histoire de Madagascar*, Paris, 1884.

### 2. *The colonial system and how it developed*

At the fall of the Merina Monarchy, only higher-status groups possessed economic power and had received a general education ensuring them high social standing; they lost their posts of responsibility and authority, but turned to the professions and farming, or became administrative auxiliaries and were used by the colonial power as executive agents. It was these upper status groups from the highlands, the *fotsy* (whites), who continued to be the main recipients of education, to the detriment of the lower castes, the *mainty* (blacks).[1]

On the coastal fringe, colonisation challenged most of the mechanisms by which the characteristics of the social hierarchy had been reproduced: the colonists discouraged large herds, abolished slavery, expropriated the lands of the lineal chiefs, extended taxation and the use of money. This led to a crisis for the lineal system, a crisis which took different forms from one region to another. In some regions, education was perceived as a way for new leaders to emerge, and constituted a new mechanism for social hierarchies to reproduce themselves.

Thus the former leading classes, deprived of their positions of responsibility, felt the frustration of losing their prerogatives, while the French character given to education offended their national feelings; yet paradoxically it was those classes who derived the most benefit from the colonial economic and cultural system, for despite the determination to reduce regional disparities and 'break the Merina élite', colonisation largely favoured the highlands.

In summarising developments over 65 years, two major periods can be distinguished:

For nearly 50 years the colonial bureaucracy acted mainly in the interests of the small-scale and large-scale colonial developers by helping them to appropriate land, supplying the concessions with manpower in the form of forced labour and wage-earners, obliging the peasants to involve themselves in the trading economy through taxation. Export crops were largely produced by the colonists, while foodstuffs for domestic consumption were produced within the 'modes of traditional production'. From 1930 onwards, however, a gradual improvement could be observed in the position of the peasantry, together with some development of export crops by indigenous producers.

During the period following the second world war the first signs of industrial capitalism began to appear, and steps were taken to modernise the peasant economy (with the introduction of the *Collectivités autochtones rurales*—rural native collectivities—and the *Collectivités rurales autochtones modernisées*—modernised rural native collectivities). These administrative and technical measures were directed to the production and marketing of produce for internal consumption; the smaller-scale colonists were gradually eliminated; colonial capital turned to the agro-industries; large-scale infrastructural development occured under the FIDES plan *(Fonds interministériel de développement économique et social)*.

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[1] The liberation of the Andevo in 1896 did not basically change their situation, because the former masters retained their ownership of the land so the newly freed slaves tended to work for them as sharecroppers.

During the two phases, educational policy differed distinctly.

*(a) Educational disparities during the colonial period up to 1945.* Under the Merina monarchy education was viewed in cultural, military and religious terms, and at the same time was expected to provide craft or occupational training; with colonisation, schools had the specific purpose of training administrative auxiliaries and the intermediaries essential to the production system, by imbuing pupils with European values, mastery of the French language, and ideological and political submission to the colonial power.

Education became selective and utilitarian (in 1898 only 52,000 pupils were receiving schooling, compared with 135,000 in 1838); teaching was in the French language, and it was mainly designed to train clerical workers, interpreters, civils servants, nurses, rural doctors and teachers.

But within these broad aims the school system was a constant pawn in the conflict between the colonial power, the missions and the colonists. It was under pressure from the colonists to provide a vocational type of education, to train qualified workers, in the Malagasy language if necessary; while the administration emphasised a French-oriented school system to train junior administrative executives as a relay between the population and the colonial bureaucracy. On top of this came conflict between catholic and protestant schools, and between religious and lay schools. Missionaries trained élites who were less dependent on the colonial power (pastors and priests). Far from being unified, the school system reflected the contradictions of the colonial system. At all events, the Malagasy school system was not assimilated into the French system until the end of the period (1945); to adapt the words of the classic French school-book of that time, one might say that the Gauls did not become the ancestors of the Malagasy people until the eve of independence...

Until 1945 the school system was split in two: (a) education for *French citizens* included a primary stage, following which the pupil received a certificate of elementary primary studies entitling him to proceed either to the higher primary level, which led to the elementary diploma, the *brevet*, or to secondary education, at the Galliéni Lycée for boys or for girls, the Jules Ferry; (b) education for the *native population* comprised three levels: the first level, equivalent to primary education, led to a diploma; the second level was divided among regional schools for boys and domestic schools for girls and led to a secondary education certificate, the CESD; the third level was occupational (teachers' training or medicine).

The decree of 14 February 1916[1] provided that:

'*First-level* indigenous schools are intended to inculcate good habits in children, teach them to behave properly and instil practical knowledge with a view to improving their productive capacity in their working environment;

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[1] Source: *Journal officiel de Madagascar et dépendances*, 19 January 1916, No. 161-165.

education is to be dispensed by indigenous teachers, using the dialect of their region to start with and thereafter substituting as far as possible the French language for the local dialect'; these schools received pupils between the ages of eight and fourteen, and were intended to provide the rudiments of training.

Second and third level schools were exclusively occupational.

*Regional schools* (second-level) recruited first-level pupils by competition, to give them an occupational training and prepare the most able for the third cycle. French teachers were assisted by Malagasy teachers; each school had a garden and at least two workshops; the schools had two sections: general, to train tertiary-sector employees, and industrial, for workers and craftsmen in the secondary and agricultural sectors. Regional schools took in about 4.2 per cent of first-level pupils (500 out of 12,000 in 1931); to encourage regional recruitment, candidates were classified into one of two categories, according to whether they were natives of the country or born of immigrant parents; two thirds of the places were reserved for the first category.[1]

The school called 'Le Myre de Villers' represented the *third level* (two years). It recruited from the regional schools by competition, to train white-collar workers in four sections (teacher-training, administration, topography and preparation for medical school). It was established at Tananarive as part of the drive to 'merge civil servants of all races into a common world'. In 1929, of the 220 pupils, 109 were from Highland schools, 59 from Eastern schools and 52 from Western schools. The school of medecine lasted four years; its aim was to 'train skilful practitioners as valuable auxiliaries to the European physician inspectors of the indigenous medical assistance service'.

The system was thus hierarchised, regionally, into several tiers.

Not until 1925 did pupil numbers return to their 1882 level; until 1946 only French citizens of Malagasy origin had the right to send their children to the Lycée Galliéni.[2] The teaching was thus basically selective and utilitarian, but in fact there was a conflict during the colonial period between two conceptions of schooling: on the side of the colonial administration, there was hesitation between the project of 'gallicising' and that of teaching in a form subordinated to economic development; on the Malagasy side, the conflict was between their determination to safeguard their national culture and the desire to accede to a higher status by assimilating French culture. During the colonial period, moreover, *regional schools* were established, and *quotas* were laid down for pupils of coastal origin at the Myre de Villers school, but the Highlands reaped the main benefit. In 1931 the Highlands provided 70 per cent of the first-level

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1. Regional schools were opened in the major urban centres at the following rate: Fianarantsoa, 1900; Ambalavao, 1901; Antsirabe, 1902; Ambositra, 1904; Farafangana, 1905; Maroantsetra, 1906; Tamatave and Mantasoa, 1908; Maevatanana, 1911; Majunga, 1920; Tuléar, 1926; Diégo-Suarez, Fort Dauphin and Manakara, 1931 and after.
2. In 1915 a movement of intellectuals in the Highlands, called VVS, criticised the gallicising trend, but after the first war Ralaimango launched the 'Movement of the French League for the Awarding to Natives of the Rights of French Citizenship'.

TABLE 2. Regional disparities in schooling, primary level, 1931

| | Schools | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Province | State | Private | Total | Pupils | Population | Enrolment ratio as per cent of population | Official schools per 10,000 inhabitants |
| Tuléar | 54 | 9 | 63 | 5 000 | 380 000 | 1.3 | 1.4 |
| Diego-Suarez | 61 | 10 | 71 | 6 000 | 224 000 | 2.6 | 2.7 |
| Majunga | 109 | 9 | 118 | 13 000 | 420 000 | 3.1 | 2.6 |
| Tamatave | 85 | 20 | 105 | 13 000 | 370 000 | 3.5 | 2.3 |
| Fianarantsoa | 232 | 220 | 452 | 53 000 | 1 250 000 | 4.2 | 1.8 |
| Tananarive | 321 | 263 | 584 | 80 000 | 900 000 | 9.0 | 3.5 |
| Madagascar | 862 | 531 | 1 393 | 170 000 | 3 544 000 | 4.8 | 2.4 |

SOURCE *L'enseignement à Madagascar en 1931.*

pupils (133,000 out of 170,000) and half the Myre de Villers pupils (109 out of 220).

In 1931 school enrolment by region was as shown in Table 2.

Enrolment ratios as a percentage of the total population were 1.3 in the province of Tuléar, compared with 9 for Tananarive; the latter province, representing a quarter of the total population, provided almost *half* of the total attending school.

The discrepancies in school attendance are mainly accounted for by differences in the location of the private schools, most of which were religious; there was much less discrepancy for official schools per head of population than in the enrolment ratios.

Table 2 thus illustrates the twofold pattern of regional differences relating both to direct action on the part of the colonial government machine and also to the location of the missions.

*(b) Regional disparities after the second world war.* Until 1945 education consisted essentially of primary teaching and vocational schools; after 1945, in contrast, the colonial authorities developed secondary and higher education (the Institut des Hautes Etudes de Tananarive, 1948) and introduced French programmes so that the qualifications became equivalent.

Three sub-periods must be distinguished: (1) from 1946 to 1951, the opening of European primary schools and the two *lycées* to Malagasy children who could speak French, which effectively meant those living in the towns (in 1950, out of 1,081 pupils in European secondary schools 474 were Malagasy); (2) with the reform of 1951, the distinction among teachers remained (metropolitan and indigenous), but CM1 and CM2 were introduced, enabling pupils at Malagasy elementary schools to go on to the *classe de sixième* (secondary school) entry competition; the regional schools were transformed to teach supplementary administration courses, for which there were quotas, with the result that private education developed further; the emphasis was on technical and occupational teaching; (3) as from 1957, the distinction between metropolitan and indigenous teachers was abolished; the emphasis was now put on general education.

Thus, the struggle to gallicise the school system and for assimilation appeared essential to nationals aspiring to posts of responsibility under the colonial system; the opening-up of general education and the development of schooling constituted a crucial element of progress in the struggle for national liberation. The education system led to the emergence of an élite originating from various regions of the Island and, in particular, to the birth of a coastal lower-middle class (teachers, country doctors, soldiers etc.) who would, upon independence, accede to political, social and cultural power side by side with the Highlands middle class, thanks to the school system.

Paradoxically, the change in education policy appears to have been a consequence both of the 1947 revolt and of the struggles for national liberation, which led the colonial authorities to amend their political and cultural strategies, and of the massive investments of the FIDES, which altered the relations between Madagascar and metropolitan France and led to economic growth; the two factors combined, associated with demographic growth, led to a *spectacular upsurge in education as from 1950.*

Primary education also developed in the private sector, where pupil numbers increased from 70,000 (1950/51) to 157,000 (1960/61), as well as in the state sector, where pupil numbers rose from 166,000 to 301,000 over the same period. The Highlands accounted for two-thirds of first-level pupils (260,000 out of 411,000).

Secondary education in 1960/61 had an enrolment of 26,700, of whom 23,500 were nationals; the colleges and *lycées* with a seven-year cycle had nearly as many pupils as the supplementary courses with a four-year cycle—11,116 and 10,900 respectively of the nationals; private-sector numbers represented about two-thirds of the total (15,300), of which 7,100 were in the *lycées* and colleges and 8,100 in the supplementary courses. Tananarive province had 9,102 CEG and *lycée* pupils out of 11,116 and 5,285 supplementary-course pupils out of 10,900, 607 rural-college pupils out of 1,515 or in all, two-thirds of the second-level numbers.

Higher education developed mainly after 1956/57; the numbers of nationals increased from 200 to 500, mainly in the medical and scientific disciplines, whereas legal studies had previously attracted the heavier intakes.

In 1959 the primary enrolment ratio as a proportion of the whole population amounted to 7.7 per cent, with *substantial* disparities as between one province and another. Table 3, which shows the schooling trend between 1931 and 1959, has been corrected to allow for changes in the composition of the provinces which occurred in 1945; the districts of Ambatondrazaka and Moramanga ceased to be part of Tananarive province and were included in the province of Tamatave; the districts of Fort Dauphin and Ambovombe passed from the province of Fianarantsoa to that of Tuléar.

The enrolment indicator chosen is the ratio for the population as a whole, in

**TABLE 3.** Primary schooling by province in 1931 and 1959 ('000s)

| | 1931 | | | | | 1959 | | | | | 1959/1931 Ratios | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Pupils | | | | | Pupils | | | | | Pupils | | |
| Province | State schools | Private schools | Total | Population | Ratio 3/4 | State schools | Private schools | Total | Population | Ratio 8/9 | State schools 6/1 | Private schools 7/2 | Total 8/3 |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) | (12) | (13) |
| **Tuléar** | 7.5 | 2.2 | 9.7 | 520 | 1.8 | 24.8 | 4.7 | 29.5 | 821.2 | 3.2 | 3.3 | 2.1 | 3.0 |
| *of which* Tuléar-town | 0.7 | 0.6 | 1.3 | 44 | 2.9 | 4.9 | 1.4 | 6.3 | 97.7 | 6.4 | 7.0 | 2.3 | 4.8 |
| **Diégo-Suarez** | 5.2 | 0.9 | 6.1 | 224 | 2.7 | 20.6 | 5.3 | 25.9 | 384.2 | 6.7 | 3.9 | 5.8 | 4.2 |
| *of which* Diégo-Suarez town | 2.2 | 0.4 | 2.6 | 64 | 4.0 | 3.8 | 1.5 | 5.3 | 62.1 | 8.5 | 1.7 | 3.7 | 2.0 |
| **Majunga** | 11.9 | 1.1 | 13.0 | 420 | 3.0 | 25.3 | 7.0 | 32.4 | 637.8 | 5.0 | 2.1 | 6.3 | 2.5 |
| *of which* Majunga town | 0.5 | 0.3 | 0.8 | 29 | 0.9 | 2.7 | 2.6 | 5.3 | 50.3 | 10.0 | 5.4 | 8.6 | 6.6 |
| **Tamatave** | 17.9 | 1.4 | 19.3 | 590 | 3.2 | 52.0 | 11.0 | 63.0 | 839 | 7.5 | 2.9 | 7.8 | 3.2 |
| *of which* Tamatave town | 3.2 | 1.4 | 4.6 | 112 | 4.1 | 6.1 | 4.6 | 10.7 | 117.9 | 9.0 | 1.9 | 3.3 | 2.3 |
| Ambatondrazaka | 4.9 | 0.4 | 5.3 | 66 | 8.0 | 11.7 | 1.9 | 13.6 | 101.6 | 13.3 | 2.4 | 4.7 | 2.5 |
| **Fianarantsoa** | 26.1 | 22.9 | 49 | 1 010 | 4.9 | 62.4 | 49.5 | 112.3 | 1 384 | 8.1 | 2.4 | 2.1 | 2.2 |
| *of which* Fianarantsoa town | 7.4 | 11.7 | 19.1 | 252 | 7.5 | 8.8 | 15.6 | 24.4 | 196.2 | 12.4 | 1.2 | 1.3 | 1.2 |
| Ambositra | 4.4 | 9.6 | 14.0 | 176 | 7.9 | 5.6 | 8.8 | 14.4 | 124.6 | 11.6 | 1.2 | 0.9 | 1.0 |
| **Tananarive** | 37.2 | 35.0 | 72.2 | 680 | 10.6 | 84.1 | 64.1 | 14.8 | 123.2 | 12.0 | 2.2 | 1.8 | 2.0 |
| *of which* Tananarive town | 11.7 | 17.7 | 29.5 | 233 | 12.6 | 18.3 | 26.5 | 44.8 | 247.9 | 18.0 | 2.4 | 1.8 | 2.1 |
| Tananarive-suburbs | | | | | | 10.6 | 6.6 | 17.3 | 105.0 | 16.4 | | | |
| Atsirabe | 3.5 | 4.9 | 8.4 | 156 | 5.3 | 8.8 | 8.0 | 16.8 | 137.9 | 12.1 | 2.5 | 2.1 | 2.4 |
| **General total** | 105.8 | 67.1 | 172.9 | 3 544 | 4.9 | 269.8 | 141.8 | 411.6 | 5 298 | 7.7 | 2.5 | 2.1 | 2.4 |
| **Urban district total** | 38.5 | 47.0 | 85.5 | 1 132 | 7.5 | 79.4 | 77.5 | 158.9 | 1 242 | 12.7 | 2.0 | 1.6 | 1.8 |
| **Rural district total** | 67.3 | 20.1 | 87.4 | 2 412 | 3.6 | 188.4 | 64.3 | 252.7 | 4 056 | 6.2 | 2.8 | 3.1 | 2.9 |

SOURCE *L'enseignement à Madagascar en 1931*, op. cit.; *Le Livre blanc de l'économie malgache*, 1960.

view of the considerable uncertainty surrounding the demographic statistics and disparities in school attendance age; the comparison assumes that errors in the estimate for the population are more or less the same for both years, also that the age structure did not vary.

The following points can be made about Table 3:

1. As regards *first-level* teaching, there had been a considerable *reduction* in regional disparities since 1931; the provinces with the least schooling (Tuléar, Diégo-Suarez, Majunga and Tamatave) had made the most progress; the discrepancy between Tananarive and Tulear in enrolment ratio decreased from 6 (10.6/1.8) to 3.4 (12.0/3.5).
2. The disparities in schooling were mainly accounted for by differences between the *rural and urban* areas; the ten urban districts had an enrolment ratio of 12.7 per cent, as against 6.2 per cent for the rural districts; in the latter, however, schooling advanced more rapidly.
3. In the areas with the lowest enrolments, private schools had grown relatively far less than in the areas with high enrolments; in the towns, private schools accounted for half the pupils, but for less than a quarter in the rural districts.

While some degree of political will can be inferred from this to reduce the regional disparities at primary level, although they were compensated for by the twofold process of urbanisation and the introduction of private schools, the reduction in regional disparities did not make itself felt at second level (see Table 4). The province of Tananarive, which accounted for 43 per cent of second-level pupils in 1931, accounted for 63 per cent in 1960.

The regional disparities at independence thus originate in a long precolonial and colonial history; they are to be explained by a very complex variety of factors, ranging from military conquests, religious influences, administrative policies, social and political conflict, to the actions of economic interests. It would be very difficult, and surely arbitrary, to see any single logic at work here. The two elements which, however, seem to have been the most influential were first, state policy, and second, the setting-up of missions. There were marked differences in the way schools developed in more heavily evangelized areas, the principal administrative and trading centres, and the Highland region; regional disparities can thus be explained in terms of the contrasts between town and country, social formations in the Highlands and the outer regions, religious power and lay, *Fanjakana* power.

Whatever the weight of these various factors, regional disparities were very marked at the eve of independence. Taking the number of *illiterates* as an indicator, a 1953 survey showed that for the Merina, 65 per cent could read Malagasy and more than 25 per cent understood French, whereas the proportions fell to 22 per cent and 6 per cent for the Betsimisaraka, 19 per cent and 5 per cent for the Sakalava, 11 per cent and 1.6 per cent for the Antandroy.[1]

Grouping the districts into three zones according to *primary school enrolment*

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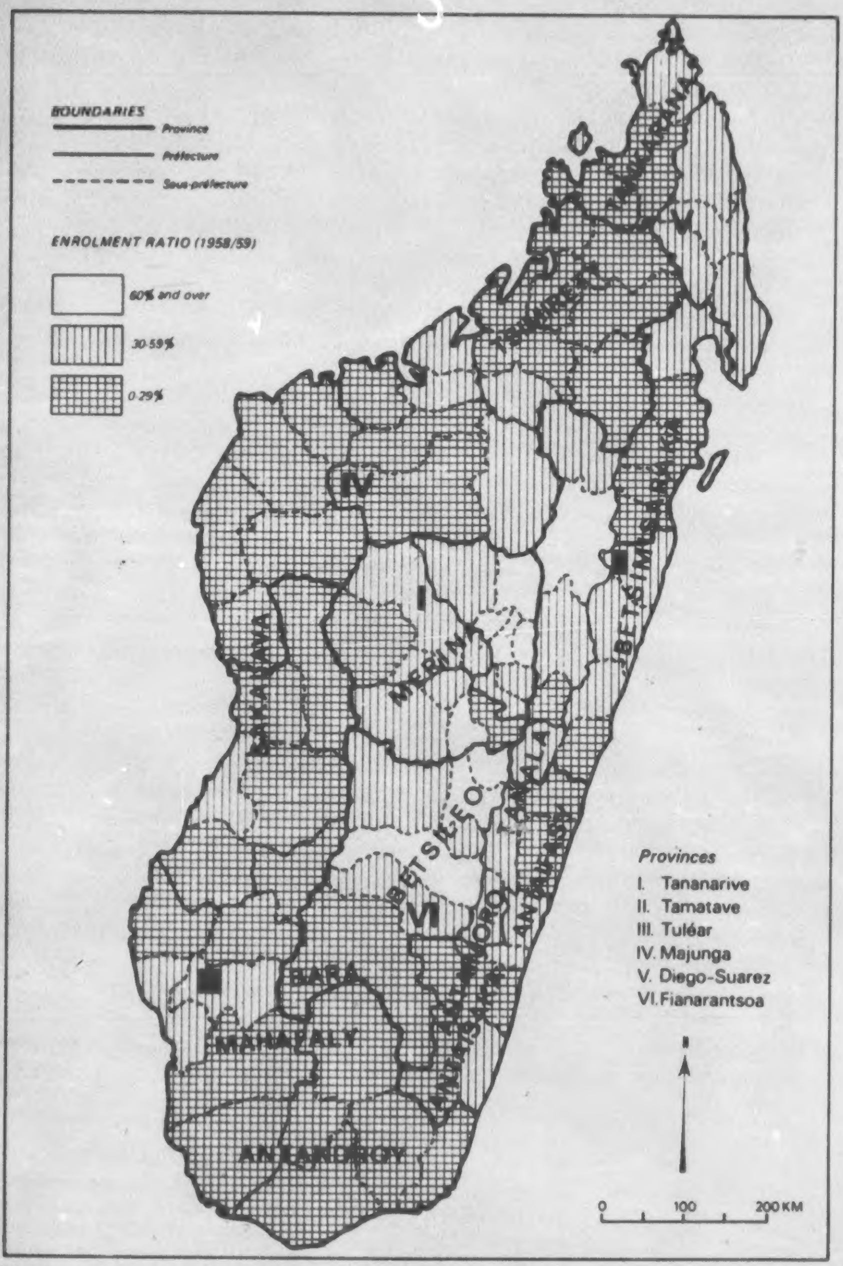
[1] Cited by H. Deschamps in *Histoire de Madagascar*, Ed. Berger Levrault, 1972, p. 317. The same author notes that in 1959 60 per cent of the 10.956 civil servants were Merina.

TABLE 4. Trend for second-level education by province.

| | | 1960/61[2] | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Colleges and lycées | | | Supplementary courses | | | |
| Province | 1931[1] | State | Private | Total | State | Private | Total | Total |
| Tananarive | 584 | 2 834 | 6 268 | 9 102 | 695 | 4 590 | 5 285 | 14 387 |
| Fianarantsoa | 193 | 291 | 915 | 1 206 | 756 | 1 744 | 2 500 | 3 706 |
| Tamatave | 295 | 271 | — | 271 | 426 | 301 | 727 | 998 |
| Diégo-Suarez | — | 147 | — | 147 | 234 | 433 | 667 | 814 |
| Majunga | 193 | 217 | — | 217 | 325 | 263 | 588 | 805 |
| Tuléar | 18 | 157 | 16 | 173 | 328 | 805 | 1 133 | 1 306 |
| Madagascar | 1 283 | 3 917 | 7 199 | 11 116 | 2 764 | 8 136 | 10 900 | 22 016 |

1. Regional schools + Domestic science + Flacourt school second level
2. Nationals


BOUNDARIES
Province
Préfecture
Sous-préfecture
ENROLMENT RATIO (1958/59)
60% and over
30-59%
0-29%
ANTANKARANA
V
TSIMIHETY
IV
BETSIMISARAKA
I
MERINA
SAKALAVA
TANALA
BETSILEO
VI
ANTAIMORO
ANTAIFASY
BARA
ANTAISAKA
MAHAFALY
ANTANDROY
Provinces
I. Tananarive
II. Tamatave
III. Tuléar
IV. Majunga
V. Diego-Suarez
VI. Fianarantsoa
0
100
200 KM

MAP 3. *Primary school enrolment ratios by district, 1958/59.*

*ratios:* A with 60 per cent and over, B with 30 to 59 per cent, C below 30 per cent, discloses combinations which are homogeneous both socio-economically and socio-culturally (see Map 3 ):[1]
(A) The urbanised *Highlands*, with their high demographic density, where irrigated rice-growing predominates, practised by the Merina and Betsileo; the enrolment ratio is over 60 per cent; the towns of Tananarive, Fianarantsoa and Ambositra have ratios above 80 per cent.
(B) The *North-West and East coast* agricultural areas, fairly densely populated, together with areas around the *major towns* (Tuléar, Fort Dauphin, Majunga, Mordondava), where enrolment ratios are between 30 and 59 per cent.
(C) The livestock-breeding areas of the *West and South* of the Sakalava, Bara, Mahafaly and Androy, very thinly populated, where the enrolment ratio is below 30 per cent.

To summarise, schooling originated in association with the State; the dissemination of writing and reading, to transmit orders from the central power, and of arithmetic to keep account of populations and stocks, the utilitarian and practical training necessary to various kinds of worker (religious, educational, craft, trading) led to an education limited to the higher-status groups of the Merina State. It emerged in association with the outside world: the three Ms (Missionaries, soldiers—*Militaires*— and Merchants) historically preceded the three Cs (Colonists, Capitalists and administrative heads—*Chefs*).

During the colonial period, schooling must be considered in its relationship to the Metropolitan State; it was both an extension of a school and education system defined by reference to metropolitan standards, and a locus of social reproduction within the colonies that conflicted with previous social and educational loci. The school was thus situated in the contradictory process (of integration/differentiation) of the pupils with respect to the metropolis and of differentiation/specificity of the pupils with respect to traditional education.

Until 1945 the integration of the agents in a political and cultural space of reference occurred to the detriment of the traditional family and social continuum; however, insertion in the monetary economy as a result of the nature of the colonial system was on a smaller scale; despite Galliéni's plan, colonisation did not lead to a heavy accumulation of capital, nor to a need for qualified manpower in the production apparatus. The shortage of manpower was a permanent problem during the colonial period but it was mainly a shortage of unskilled labour.

After the second world war, however, the conditions for accumulation were radically changed: the colonies acquired the right to industrialise themselves, and received massive capital inflows (FIDES); the will now existed to train cadres for an autonomous, independent country; the agents were increasingly integrated into trading relationships. The dynamic of supply (at the level of the State) would be partly replaced by a dynamic of demand (at the level of the families).

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[1] The disparities at province level have only limited significance, since the administrative boundaries are designed to compensate for socio-economic disparities, combining heterogeneous ethnic and social groups into provinces. Thus the province of Fianarantsoa embraces not only the densely populated Betsileo country, with its high enrolment ratio and irrigated rice-growing, but also semi-desert livestock areas of the Bara country. Similarly, the province of Tamatave covers the Ambatondrazaka district, the island's rice granary, and the coastal areas of the Betsimisaraka country, producing income crops.

## C. Regional disparities from Independence to the Second Republic, 1975

Schooling developed after independence in a way which reduced regional disparities so far as primary pupils were concerned, but two processes were at work to increase such disparities.

First, in qualitative terms, differences in the school *networks* were accentuated; state primary schools in the urban areas were incomparably ahead of the short-cycle schools, some of which could better have been called nurseries; furthermore, in the province headquarters and particularly Tananarive, primary school was often preceded by kindergarten. From another aspect, the process of regional differentiation gradually *shifted* from first level to first cycle and then to second cycle of second level and to university; there was a rise in the amount of training required for access to senior posts; the political authorities,[1] assisted by the former colonial power, sought partly to brake this regional imbalance process but did not really manage to do so. The *logic of the demand*, chiefly at *second level*, prevailed over that of *supply*, whose effects made themselves felt at *first level*. It would thus be fair to say that in response to demand pressure, the school network was diversified and was constituted of unequally distributed streams. In addition to quantitative disparities in terms of flows, there were also qualitative disparities in terms of streams.

### *1. Quantitative disparities in terms of flows*[2]

From the standpoint of the processes at work, regional disparities can be identified in terms of increased flows and different enrolment ratios at the various levels.

*(a) The disparities at primary level: 1. Sharp increase in schooling and regional disparities.* Overall, the numbers in first-level schooling rose from 252,000 (1950/51) to 450,000 (1960/61), and to more than 1,130,000 (1975), an annual rate of increase of 7.2 per cent for the public sector and 5.4 per cent for the private sector. The gross enrolment ratio or relation between the numbers attending school and the population aged between 6 and 14 years rose from 36.5

[1] To reduce the complexity of Malagasy political life up to 1972 to an oversimplified dichotomy, one might say that the political authorities originated from the less heavily schooled coastal regions, while the administration was mainly composed of the educated Highland élite. However, this simplification is only suggestive up to a point.

[2] Statistics are from official Ministry of Education sources, and from the present author's IIEP study, op. cit.

TABLE 5. Trend of gross enrolment rates by province (for population aged 6-14). in thousands.

| | 1962/63 | | | | 1971/72 | | | | | | 1975 | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Province | State sector enrolments (1) | Total enrolments (2) | School-age population (3) | Ratio % (4) | State sector enrolments (5) | Total enrolments (6) | School-age population (7) | Ratio % (8) | (5)/(1) (9) | (6)/(2) (10) | State sector enrolments (11) | Total enrolments (12) | School-age population (13) | Ratio % (14) | (11)/(5) (15) | (12)/(6.) (16) |
| Tananarive | 106 | 184 | 358 | 51.4 | 175 | 320 | 505 | 63.4 | 1.7 | 2.0 | 223 | 370 | 586 | 63.1 | 1.27 | 1.16 |
| Fianarantsoa | 84 | 148 | 444 | 33.3 | 147 | 221 | 562 | 39.3 | 1.7 | 1.5 | 204 | 274 | 552 | 49.6 | 1.38 | 1.23 |
| Tamatave | 79 | 90 | 255 | 35.3 | 142 | 169 | 351 | 48.1 | 1.8 | 1.8 | 174 | 189 | 360 | 52.5 | 1.22 | 1.18 |
| Majunga | 34 | 42 | 156 | 26.9 | 93 | 104 | 202 | 51.5 | 2.7 | 2.2 | 101. | 113 | 227 | 49.8 | 1.08 | 1.08 |
| Tuléar | 18 | 43 | 182 | 23.6 | 76 | 81 | 244 | 33.2 | 2.0 | 2.0 | 85 | 94 | 271 | 34.7 | 1.11 | 1.16 |
| Diégo-Suarez | 34 | 41 | 108 | 38.0 | 74 | 90 | 160 | 56.3 | 2.1 | 2.2 | 78 | 90 | 176 | 51.1 | 1.05 | 1.00 |
| Madagascar | 376 | 549 | 1 503 | 36.5 | 707 | 985 | 2 027 | 47.1 | 1.9 | 1.8 | 867 | 1 130 | 2 172 | 52.0 | 1.22 | 1.14 |

SOURCES 1. 5. 11 = Pupils enrolled in state sector schools
2. 6. 12 = state plus private sector enrolments

per cent to 47.1 per cent between 1962/63 and 1971/72, and to 52.0 per cent in 1975. This heavy increase in schooling gradually reduced regional inequalities, since the numbers in the province of Majunga (with the least schooling) multiplied by 2.5 and those for the province of Tananarive (with the most schooling) multiplied by 1.7 between 1962 and 1972. In contrast, between 1972 and 1975 the annual growth rate was faster in the provinces with more schooling (7.1 per cent for Fianarantsoa, 5.1 per cent for Tananarive) than in others, such as Tamatave, where the annual increase was only 3.9 per cent, Tuléar, 2 per cent, Majunga, 1.2 per cent and Diégo-Suarez, 1 per cent (See Table 5).

The upsurge in schooling thus led to an extension in the heavily schooled areas (A), particularly in the rich crop regions (Andapa) and the sub-prefectures of Fort Dauphin and Majunga, and in particular, to an increase in the averagely schooled areas (B) in the Tsimiety country, Betsimisaraka country and several cantons of the Sakalava country. Only the Androy and Mahafaly countries and certain areas of the Sakalava country still had little schooling (Zone C) (see Map 4).

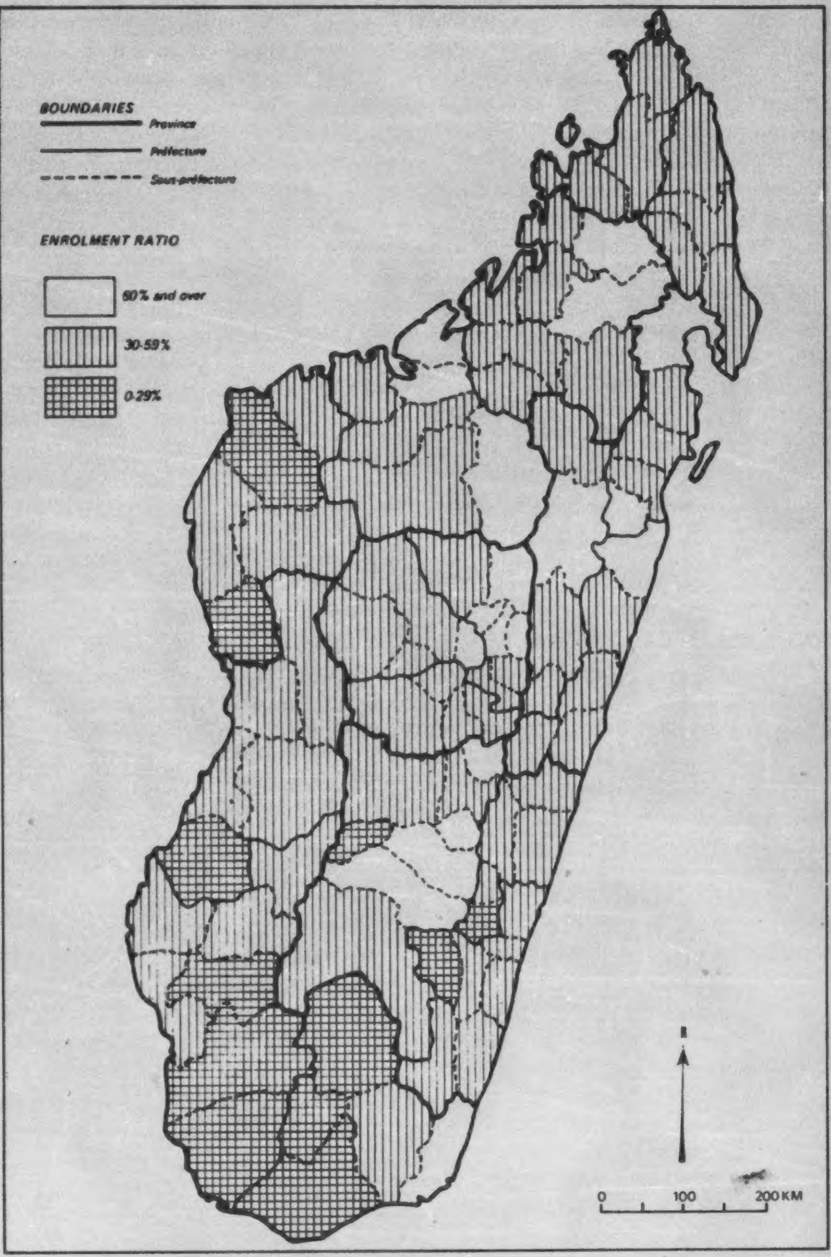
Beyond the inter-province disparities, there were heavy intra-province inequalities: at the level of the sub-prefectures, disparities within the provinces of Tuléar, Majunga and Tananarive were heavy compared with the low dispersion of the enrolment ratios among the sub-prefectures of the Province of Diégo Suarez (see Figure 4).

*(b) The disparities at primary level: 2. Retention rates and regional disparities.* On average, for 1,000 pupils enrolled in the first level, there remained 440 at CE2 level, 230 at CM2 level, and 100 at the 6th (first grade of secondary). These retention rates differ from one province to another and it is these which account for differences in enrolment ratios. The enrolment structure for the first primary year is close to that for the school-age populations in the various provinces, with the exception of Tuléar and Tamatave; but at CM2 level considerable discrepancies can be observed, particularly for the province of Tananarive (see Table 6).

*(c) Disparities at secondary level: 1. The marked increase in schooling and regional disparities.* Secondary enrolments tripled between 1962/63 and 1971/72. The increase was mainly due to the growth of private education (where the numbers multiplied by 3.2, as against 2.7 for the state sector) and of the CEGs, whose numbers multiplied by 2.7. However, the growth pattern varied from one region to another (see Table 7).

The numbers multiplied by 2.6 in Tananarive, 3.1 in Diégo-Suarez, 3.1 in Fianarantsoa, 3.7 in Tamatave, 4.6 in Majunga and 5.6 in Tuléar. Taking an index with base 100 in 1972, secondary pupils in 1975 were at 125 for Madagascar, 127 for Tananarive, 116 for Diégo Suarez, 128 for Fianarantsoa, 135 for Majunga, 106 for Tamatave and 132 for Tuléar.

In 1972 the province of Tananarive accounted for some 50 per cent of enrolments, compared with 20 per cent for Fianarantsoa, 12 per cent for


BOUNDARIES
Province
Préfecture
Sous-préfecture
ENROLMENT RATIO
60% and over
30-59%
0-29%
N
0
100
200 KM

**Map 4.** *Primary-school enrolment ratios by district, 1975.*

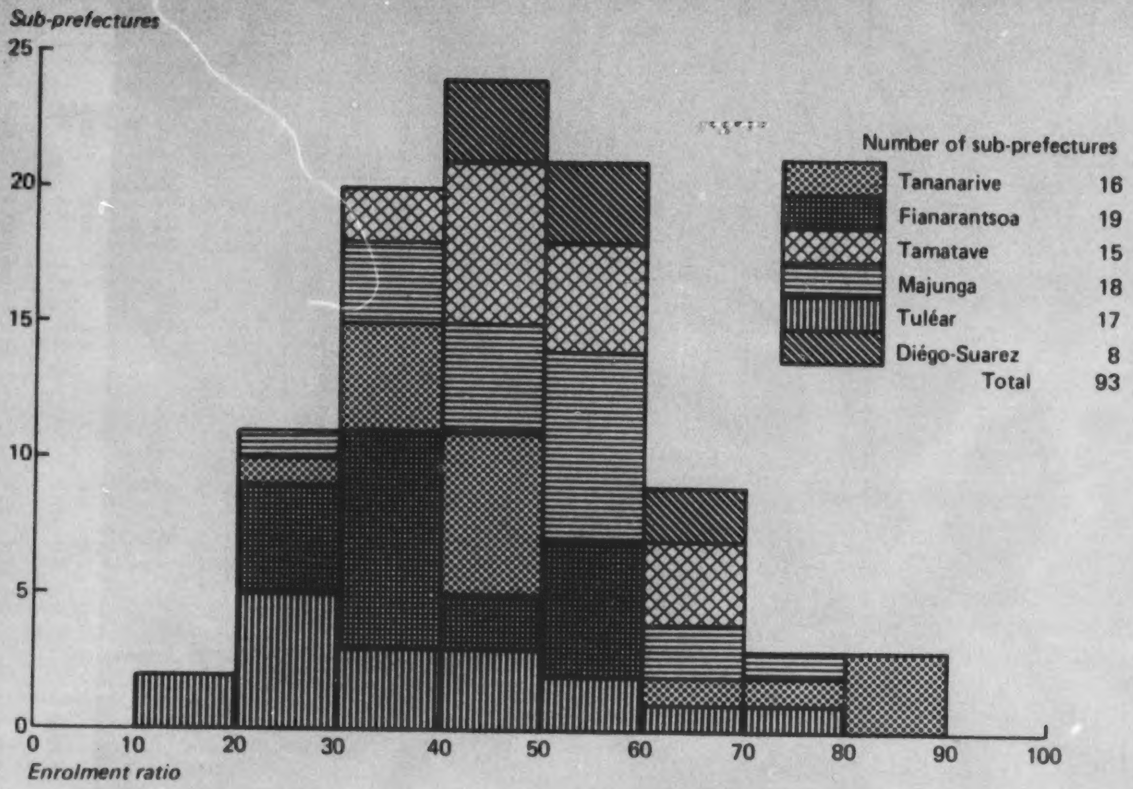


FIGURE 4. *Distribution of sub-prefectures by enrolment ratio, 1971.*

TABLE 6. Percentage of enrolment by year of study and province.[1]

| Province | Schoolage 1966 | Enrolled in 1966 CP 1 | Enrolled in 1966 CM 2 | Enrolled in 1970 CM 2 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tananarive | 27.1 | 28.4 | 46.2 | 40.7 |
| Fianarantsoa | 24.0 | 26.8 | 22.5 | 23.8 |
| Tamatave | 14.1 | 18.3 | 11.8 | 10.1 |
| Majunga | 11.3 | 9.7 | 16.5 | 11.9 |
| Tuléar | 15.8 | 9.8 | 7.4 | 7.2 |
| Diégo-Suarez | 7.7 | 7.0 | 5.6 | 6.3 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

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[1] Lack of reliable data has made it impossible to calculate retention rates by province. As an indication of the wastages we quote the percentages enrolled at CP1 and CM2 as related to the percentages of school-age children.

Tamatave, 9 per cent for Tuléar, 7 per cent for Majunga and 5 per cent for Diégo Suarez. In 1962/63 the respective percentages were 57, 18, 9.4, 5, 4.5 and 5.4. Tananarive's share had declined. However, at the level of second-cycle secondary, Tananarive continued to account for some three-quarters of enrolments during the period 1960-75.

*(d) Disparities at secondary level: 2. The trend for gross enrolment ratios.* In 1972 the average gross enrolment ratio for the first cycle was 10 per cent, and for the second cycle, 2.4 per cent; for Tananarive these were 18.6 and 6 per cent respectively (see Table 8).

*(e) Percentage of certificate-holders ('diplomé') and regional disparities.* Considerable growth can be observed in the numbers of certificate-holders. The

TABLE 7. Trend for second-level pupils by province (thousands).

| Provinces | 1962/63 State | 1962/63 Private | 1962/63 Total | 1971/72 State | 1971/72 Private | 1971/72 Total | 1975 State | 1975 Private | 1975 Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tananarive | 6.4 | 13.4 | 19.8 | 14.6 | 36.0 | 50.6 | 27.8 | 36.7 | 64.5 |
| Fianarantsoa | 2.0 | 4.5 | 6.5 | 5.3 | 14.8 | 20.1 | 10.9 | 14.8 | 25.7 |
| Tamatave | 1.4 | 1.8 | 3.2 | 4.5 | 7.2 | 11.7 | 8.6 | 3.8 | 12.4 |
| Majunga | 0.9 | 0.7 | 1.6 | 3.2 | 4.2 | 7.4 | 6.4 | 3.6 | 10.0 |
| Tuléar | 1.0 | 0.6 | 1.6 | 4.8 | 5.3 | 10.1 | 10.0 | 3.4 | 13.4 |
| Diégo-Suarez | 1.0 | 0.8 | 1.8 | 2.4 | 3.1 | 5.5 | 3.3 | 3.1 | 6.4 |
| Madagascar | 12.7 | 21.8 | 34.5 | 34.8 | 70.6 | 105.4 | 67.0 | 65.4 | 132.4 |

TABLE 8. Enrolment ratios in 1972 (thousands).[1]

| | Population aged: 15-18 (1) | Population aged: 19-21 (2) | First cycle pupils (3) | Ratio (4) | Second-cycle pupils (5) | Ratio (6) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tananarive | 216 | 162 | 40.2 | 18.6 | 9.8 | 6.0 |
| Fianarantsoa | 192 | 144 | 18.3 | 9.5 | 1.8 | 1.2 |
| Tamatave | 112 | 84 | 10.4 | 9.2 | 1.1 | 1.3 |
| Majunga | 90.4 | 67 | 6.8 | 7.5 | 0.5 | 0.7 |
| Tuléar | 126.4 | 94 | 9.3 | 7.3 | 0.9 | 0.9 |
| Diégo-Suarez | 61.6 | 46 | 5.1 | 8.2 | 0.5 | 1.0 |
| Madagascar | 800 | 600 | 80.7 | 10.0 | 14.5 | 2.4 |

[1] Reference age classes chosen are 15-18 for the 1st cycle and 19-21 for the 2nd cycle

number of school-certificate-holders (*brevet élémentaire*) rose from an overall total of 46 in 1950 to 2,206 in 1960 and 7,070 in 1971. The number of Baccalauréat Part Two certificate holders rose from 41 in 1951 to 266 in 1960 and 1,500 in 1971.

Within this trend, however, there were differences from one province to another. Regional inequalities remained considerable in the numbers holding the BEPC certificate (awarded on completion of the first cycle of second-level education), though these inequalities were tending to decline. The province of Tananarive, which in 1966 accounted for 60.1 per cent of certificate-holders, accounted for only 48.1 per cent by 1970 (see Table 9). But in the case of those holding Baccalauréat Part two certificates the 1972 percentage for Tananarive, 70, remained close to its 1960 figure.

To summarise, the dynamic of the school system has led to a reduction in regional disparities since independence in regard to first-level school enrolment,

TABLE 9. Regional structure of certificate-holders.

| Province | School-age population | 1966 BEPC | 1970 BEPC | 1970 Baccalauréat Part II |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tananarive | 27.1 | 60.1 | 48.1 | 71.8 |
| Fianarantsoa | 24.0 | 16.1 | 18.6 | 10.6 |
| Tamatave | 14.1 | 8.0 | 11.6 | 4.9 |
| Majunga | 11.3 | 4.8 | 6.3 | 3.9 |
| Tuléar | 15.8 | 7.2 | 9.2 | 5.6 |
| Diégo-Suarez | 7.7 | 3.8 | 5.2 | 2.2 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

but has made little difference at higher levels. In 1972 the discrepancies between Tananarive and the other provinces were of the order of one to two for the first level but one to six for the second level. To the extent that certificates have been devalued as the result of the education surge (in 1975 the Baccalauréat Part Two certificate was worth no more on the labour market than a BEPC in 1960), it would be fair to say that overall, the regional disparity reproduction process has been shifted upwards.

### 2. *Qualitative disparities at the level of paths through the system*

Quantitative flows and enrolment ratios are of only limited significance since the school system is not a single entity but consists of networks. The system must be decomposed into a number of paths so that regional disparities can be understood.

The gross school enrolment rates are the result both of different enrolment patterns in the first year of each cycle and of retention rates within each cycle. These vary from one region to another. Each network has its own retention rates. Furthermore, education is made up of a number of tiers, unevenly distributed geographically.

*(a) Disparities in primary paths.* There are five types of first-level school: state full-cycle (6-year) schools, state and communal four-year-cycle schools, private schools with the full six-year cycle, and others offering the traditional four-year cycle. Two paramount factors can be distinguished for regional disparities: first, retention rates vary according to the type of school, and the different types are very unevenly distributed regionally; secondly, within the same types of school, retention rates vary according to region. The two issues will be considered in succession.

Within the first cycle (CP1, CP2, CE1, CE2), drop-out rates vary; more than 56 per cent of CP1 pupils achieve CE2 in the full-cycle state schools, whereas the proportions are 14.2 per cent for the private traditional cycle, 18.8 per cent for the communal first cycle, and 24.6 per cent for the state traditional cycle. Only the full-cycle schools have a second cycle (CM1, CM2); the great majority of full-cycle CE2 pupils continue their education up to CM2, whereas less than one-fifth of communal traditional CE2 school pupils move into the second cycle, particularly of the state sector. The relationship between CE2 enrolments and CP1 pupils is close to the CM2/CP1 ratio for the full-cycle state and private sectors, owing to the contribution of the short-cycle schools (see Table 10).

But all these schools are distributed unevenly among the regions; in Tananarive province, pupils enrolled for the *full cycle* represented 77.1 per cent of the numbers for that province, as against 63.9 per cent for Diégo Suarez, 62.8 per cent for Tamatave, 61.9 per cent for Fianarantsoa, 59.9 per cent for Tuléar and 53.7 per cent for Majunga. Tananarive, which contains one-third of total primary enrolments, has 37 per cent of total full-cycle pupils (see Table 11).

Regional differences must be probed further, as within each path the retention rates vary according to province. While the rates are fairly close at communal

TABLE 10. Retention rates by network and province (1972).

| | State | | | | | Private | | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Traditional | Communal | Full cycle | | Total State | Traditional | Full cycle | | Total Private | State & Private |
| Province | CE2/CP1 | CE2/CP1 | CE2/CP1 | CM2/CP1 | CM2/CP1 | CE2/CP1 | CE2/CP1 | CM2/CP1 | CM2/CP1 | CM2/CP1 |
| Tananarive | 28.3 | 23.1 | 63.0 | 57.8 | 23.8 | 23.8 | 47 | 44.5 | 36.3 | 29 |
| Fianarantsoa | 23.5 | 19.1 | 45.0 | 30.6 | 16.0 | 17.0 | 40 | 35 | 21 | 17.1 |
| Tamatave | 14.2 | 17.7 | 53.0 | 26.6 | 13.4 | — | 45 | 46.8 | 37.9 | 14.8 |
| Majunga | 20 | 16.1 | 51 | 31.5 | 14.1 | — | 66 | 56.6 | 64 | 17.5 |
| Tuléar | 26.3 | 19.3 | 43 | 42.5 | 19.3 | — | 43 | 47.6 | 27.6 | 19.7 |
| Diégo Suarez | 24 | 17.8 | 42 | 27 | 17.0 | — | 56 | 72 | 60 | 21.3 |
| Madagascar | 24.6 | 18.8 | 56.4 | 46.2 | 16.6 | 14.2 | 40 | 46.1 | 32 | 19.4 |

TABLE 11. Breakdown of pupils by education path and by province, 1972 ('000s)

| | Public | | | | Private | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Province | Traditional | Communal | Full cycle | Total | Traditional | Full cycle | Total | General total |
| Tananarive | 3.2 | 2.7 | 12.2 | 18.1 | 1.3 | 12.3 | 13.6 | 31.7 |
| Fianarantsoa | 1.7 | 4.6 | 9.0 | 15.3 | 1.9 | 4.7 | 6.6 | 21.9 |
| Tamatave | 2.5 | 3.5 | 8.9 | 14.9 | 0.2 | 1.7 | 1.9 | 16.8 |
| Majunga | 3.2 | 1.9 | 4.8 | 9.9 | 0.1 | 1.4 | 1.5 | 11.5 |
| Tuléar | 1.1 | 2.0 | 4.6 | 7.7 | 0.1 | 1.1 | 1.2 | 8.9 |
| Diego-Suarez | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.7 | 0.1 | 1.1 | 1.2 | 1.9 |
| Magadascar | 11.8 | 14.9 | 39.9 | 66.6 | 3.7 | 22.3 | 26.0 | 92.6 |
| Percentage | 12.7 | 16.1 | 43.1 | 71.9 | 4.0 | 24.1 | 28.1 | 100.0 |

first-cycle level (the CE2/CP1 ratio varies from 23.1 per cent at Tananarive to 16.1 per cent at Majunga), differences become more noticeable at the level of traditional state-sector schooling (the CE2/CP1 ratio varies from 28.3 per cent in Tananarive to 14.2 per cent in Tamatave) and become even clearer-cut at the level of the first cycle of the full-cycle state-sector schools (the CE2/CP1 ratio varies from 63 per cent in Tananarive to 42 per cent for Diégo-Suarez). Differences are substantial at the level of the full cycles; public and private CM2/CP1 ratios are 57.8 per cent for Tananarive as against 26.6 per cent for Tamatave.

As a result of the differences in the location of the various school paths, and divergencies within each path for retention rates by province, the retention rates (the CM2/CP1 ratio) are twice as high for Tananarive (29 per cent) as for Tamatave (14.8 per cent) (see Table 10).

The regional differences very largely reflect social stratification; the communal schools for the first cycle, and the traditional state or private nondenominational schools, are close, in terms of the social origin of their pupils and teachers, to the more modest rural and urban social strata; the full-cycle state and recognised private schools mainly recruit the children of rural notables, and city-dwellers who are expected in the ordinary course of events to go on to secondary education.

*(b) Disparities in second-level education paths.* At the level of *secondary* general education there are four types of school: full-cycle state and private-sector lycées, and the CEGs (first four-year cycle), also state or private sector.

General secondary education is thus represented by institutions belonging to two networks of different quality: (1) a short cycle: the CEGs, teaching four years of study and issuing the *brevet élémentaire* or the BEPC; these are located in the headquarters of *prefectures* and *sub-prefectures*, and in province headquarters; at the end of the *classe de troisième*, i.e. secondary-school fourth-form level, there is a serious barrier for CEG pupils; and (2) a long cycle: the *lycées*, which lead to the *baccalauréat* after seven years of study; in 1972, *lycées* were available only in the province headquarters (together with Antsirabé).

*(c) Disparities at entry to the classe de sixième (beginning of secondary education).* On completing primary education, pupils are selected and guided by means of an examination for entry into the *sixième;* this examination gives access to state education and it is selective (it accepted 20 per cent of CM2 pupils in 1968), with the result that many pupils enter private establishments, often of poor quality, leading to numerous failures in the BEPC; including the private schools, an average of 40 per cent of the pupils enrolled in CM2 schools enter the *sixième*. The two types of education are distorted through an examination which heavily favours children from urban environments, to the extent that the principal selection criterion used to be mastery of the French language.

The province of Tananarive contains more than 40 per cent of the CM2 enrolments, and has a higher rate than other provinces of pupils entering the *sixième* (44.2 per cent, compared with 33.9 per cent for Fianarantsoa—see Table 12). More basically though, a proportion of pupils from primary public-sector schools in the province headquarters (and Antsirabé) enter long-cycle establishments, but this track is closed to pupils in the rural state schools, who go on to the rural CEGs.

A twofold selection and orientation can be identified for entry to secondary education: the public entrance examination, which pushes pupils who fail it into the private schools, and differentiation between long and short cycles according to the pupil's region of origin.

Simplifying, it would be fair to say that the pupils from the state primary schools in the province headquarters mainly go on to the state *lycées* or, failing that, to the private *lycées* and urban CEGs; the pupils in rural state primary schools go on to rural state CEGs or, alternatively, the private rural CEGs; pupils from private schools go on to private rural CEGs.

TABLE 12. Rates of transition from CM2 to state and private secondary education, by province, 1968

| | State secondary | Private secondary | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tananarive | 27.7 | 21.5 | 44.2 |
| Fianarantsoa | 13.7 | 20.2 | 33.9 |
| Tamatave | 21.5 | 21.3 | 42.8 |
| Majunga | 22.7 | 13.2 | 35.9 |
| Tuléar | 28.9 | 14.4 | 43.3 |
| Diégo-Suarez | 16.2 | 11.4 | 37.6 |
| Madagascar | 20.6 | 18.3 | 38.9 |

TABLE 13. Candidates and places offered at the *classe de seconde* stage (1972)

| | Candidates for *classe de seconde* | | | | Places offered in state schools | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Province | Lycées | CEG | Private schools | Total | General lycée | Technical lycée | BEP | Total |
| Tananarive | 1 748 | 849 | 6 594 | 9 191 | 1 356 | 568 | 309 | 2 233 |
| Provinces | 1 367 | 2 168 | 7 336 | 11 087 | 1 295 | — | — | 1 295 |
| Total | 3 115 | 3 017 | 13 930 | 20 062 | 2 651 | 568 | 309 | 3 528 |
| Percentage | 15.5 | 15.0 | 69.5 | 100.0 | 13.2 | 2.8 | 1.5 | 17.5 |

At entry to the *classe de seconde*, i.e. fifth form of secondary school, a further barrier is encountered; there being no entrance examination for the fifth form, *lycée* pupils are at a great advantage. In 1972 a final-year CEG pupil had five times less chance of entering the *classe de seconde* than a pupil at the equivalent year in a *lycée;* 55 per cent of *lycée* pupils were from Tananarive province, whereas 72 per cent of CEG pupils were from one of the other provinces (see Table 13). Success rates in the BEPC are 60.8 per cent for state sector education, 76.1 for the catholic schools, 28.2 for the protestant schools and 16.1 for undenominational schools.

The 3,115 in the *lycée classes de troisième*, i.e. the form preceding the *classe de seconde*, and therefore corresponding to fourth form of secondary school, will in the ordinary way continue their schooling into the next stage, the *classe de seconde;* but for the 16,947 pupils in the CEGs and nondenominational private schools, the classe de troisième is usually their last. (This was why the introduction of a general entrance competition for the *classe de seconde* in 1972 led to a revolt on the part of Tananarive inhabitants.)

It would therefore be fair to say that the proliferation of CEGs has afforded some degree of educational decentralisation, but has had little effect in terms of BEPC successes, and still less in terms of moving up to the *classe de seconde*.

*(d) Regional differences in the location of education paths*. There are considerable differences as between provinces, then prefectures and subprefectures, in the location of second-level education paths; each province headquarters has one state *lycée*, whereas Tananarive has five (see Table 14).

TABLE 14. Distribution of state CEGs and lycées by province, 1971.[1]

| Province | Lycées |  | CEG |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Number | Per cent *classe de $3^e$* pupils | Number | Per cent *classe de $3^e$* pupils |
| Tananarive | 6 | 73.1 | 11 | 26.9 |
| of which major town | 5 | 92.4 | 2 | 29 |
| Fianarantsoa | 2 | 31.1 | 14 | 68.9 |
| of which major town | 1 | 61.2 | 1 | 18.9 |
| Tamatave | 2 | 43.1 | 9 | 56.9 |
| of which major town | 1 | 67.5 | 2 | 28.2 |
| Tuléar | 3 | 38.6 | 8 | 41.4 |
| of which major town | 1 | 57.0 | 1 | 23 |
| Majunga | 2 | 42.0 | 9 | 58.0 |
| of which major town | 1 | 74.0 | 2 | 27 |
| Diégo-Suarez | 2 | 26.3 | 8 | 73.7 |
| of which major town | 1 | 66.2 | 1 | 11.3 |
| Total | 17 |  | 59 |  |
| of which major towns | 10 |  | 9 |  |

[1] Province percentages indicate the percentage of pupils enrolled in the *classe de troisième* at lycées and CEGs; percentages for major towns in the provinces indicate the percentage of pupils enrolled in lycées or CEGs in relation to the total enrolments for the province.

# III. Explanatory factors in the regional disparity reproduction process

For the country child, although primary school may be strange, it is to some extent integrated within his everyday universe, being close to the village environment; but the move to the CEG, at sub-prefecture level, is often a once-for-all break with the rural world; at secondary school he discovers a new school environment (with a number of different, specialist teachers, carefully scheduled timetables, boarding) and an unfamiliar social environment. Secondary education makes him realise that he belongs to the world of those with knowledge, but the fact of having come through a severe selection process is not a unifying factor between those from prosperous families in the big city *lycées* and those from modest families in the sub-prefecture CEGs.

The author's theory is that since independence, the schooling dynamic is essentially to be explained in terms of demand pressure, notwithstanding the educational authorities' encouragement of primary schooling in the 1960s, when it was viewed as a factor of 'development' and national unification; the decolonisation process, combined with the population explosion, the destruction of earlier social relationships, and the possibilities of upward mobility, led to a very heavy demand for schooling.

Faced with this demand pressure, the political authorities sought to channel the pupils flows, holding back schooling in the most advantaged regions and stimulating it in areas where the approach to schooling was still negative; this led to certain strategies on the supply side, such as diversification of the school networks (the first-cycle school, and the distinction between CEG and *lycée*) or a limitation of state-sector schools, leading to a very substantial growth in private schools.

The political authorities sought to compensate for the demand dynamic partly by a policy of deliberately creating supply (mainly in the livestock-breeding areas) and partly by encouraging the foundation of state CEGs and *lycées* in those provinces which were short of them, while endeavouring to eliminate certain obstacles to the country child, particularly by proposing an entrance competition for the *classe de seconde*.

## A. The pressure of and differences in the demand for schooling

It may be assumed that in country areas demand for schooling will be all the heavier where trading relationships have penetrated furthest; several considerations combine to accentuate regional disparities.

In a country area demographic density, the length of time for which schools have been on the scene and the importance of trading relationships are historically interdependent; demand for schooling will be all the stronger the higher the level of school enrolment, the longer schools have been part of life, the greater the apparent chances of finding employment and, therefore, the nearer some urban fabric.

Several factors affect differences in the demand for schooling, including urbanisation, use of money, christianisation, and demographic density. Thus demand for schooling is especially strong in urban, christianised, money-using areas; its structure depends on social stratification and the latter is infinitely complex, involving the original status groups, places in kinship relationships, the *Fokon'olona/Fanjakana* cleavage, class differences associated with the emergence of capitalism, the gap between urban and rural worlds; in view of this social complexity, the regional dimension is important because it cuts to some extent across each of those other cleavages. It would not however be possible to pursue this point further in the present study, as it would require analysis of the Malagasy social formation in its entirety.

### 1. Economic behaviour with respect to the school

The modern urban and State sector determines the technical and social division of labour, and the resulting incomes structure; it has many indirect ways of affecting the demand for schooling; the author's assumption is that this demand depends largely upon the rate of return for training, which in turn depends on the incomes structure by training level and on training costs according to social group. It is not however possible directly to relate demand for schooling and income level, as beyond the circulation of money, what is at issue is the greater or lesser dissolution of older social relationships and penetration of trading relationships, i.e. social relationships articulated mainly around money and goods. School-income relationships appear only in areas where agents can reproduce only by means of a discounted monetary gain; in this case, the rates of return form one criterion in their behaviour.

The school system has become the preferential stake of *social competition*. In rural areas, some strongly structured 'traditional' groups still retain low levels of social aspiration (livestock areas), but most social groups perceive education as a means to attaining a social status, or as an investment with which to redistribute incomes within the family. For rural children school is the only way of improving their status, and this leads to a very heavy orientation towards general types of training, leading to posts in which earnings are high even though chances of success may be low, and to no acceptance whatever of 'low-grade' schooling (such as first-cycle schools). Paradoxically, demand for schooling is sometimes all the higher where incomes are low. In areas which are overpopulated because land is scarce, a younger son who will be forced to take some wage-earning position seeks to improve the value of the labour he can offer by means of schooling; the demand for education is a direct response to demographic pressure. Families, therefore, have different strategies for their children's schooling, depending particularly on the scarcity of land (Highlands); in food-growing areas demand pressure appears to have been all the higher as the standard of living has declined (paddy prices remained constant throughout the period 1960-1972); however, in rural areas producing high-value cash crops demand pressure seems to have been less strong (East coast and the North). Within the school system, pressure to advance or repeat is all the stronger the more the prospects of obtaining a job increase with one's level of education. Thus the educational upsurge is a direct response to economic underdevelopment, the first-level school being less a cause of the rural exodus than a method of taking part in an exodus due mainly to economic and demographic reasons.

In urban areas the overall demand pressure is much heavier than in the country; here, too, income level plays a considerable part; the pressure of demand becomes particularly heavy beyond a certain incomes threshold.

As part of the mechanism of social competition, education largely *reproduces* social and regional disparities. It is a means to acquiring or maintaining status for the family cell which perpetuates itself through its children; faced with the massive upsurge in schooling, privileged social groups are forced to realise defensive investments to enable their children to keep a high status; there is then a translation of social hierarchy. This translation explains why despite the considerable efforts to attenuate regional imbalance, the latter remains substantial, and why the political authorities have hesitated to speed up the process of nationalising posts until the education system is sufficiently pervasive to permit improved regional balance.

During the first decade of independence, however, heavy inequality of opportunity depending on social and regional origin has been compatible with a relatively strong *upward mobility*. Decolonisation has encouraged such mobility, leading to 'belief in the school'; it would probably be fair to say that at the moment when mobility opportunities considerably declined, awareness of the inequality of opportunities touched off the schooling and socio-political crisis of 1971 and 1972.

The relationship of the school system to the social system cannot be perceived as a simple mechanical reproduction of those social structures by the school system, but as a form of reproduction which is mediated by the agents supporting the social structures. There exists an *objective probability* of educational movement upwards for each group, as a result of objective structures depending on a range of social, economic and cultural factors, and *aspiration levels* matching the groups to which the pupils belong or refer, and the way in which they consciously perceive the social relationships in which they are involved.

The aspirations and horizons leading a subject to include himself in or exclude himself from educational competition depend on social relationships; they are the product of interiorisation of objective conditions. The pupil's representation of his future reveals a socially determined value system. Usually, pupils from modest backgrounds eliminate themselves, and this reinforces the academic and social selection mechanisms. Chances of success thus depend upon several factors (distance from cultural values, the demographic characteristics of the family, income level, job security, attitudes towards schooling, linguistic capital, social relations capital).

The incomes and job structure influences the duration and type of education chosen, together with choice of occupation and branch on leaving the school system and throughout life at work: it is therefore desirable to analyse the different rates of return for the various forms of training to be able to understand the logic of the way the agents behave.[1] We start from the assumption that in so far as education is perceived by nearly all groups as the central arena for social competition, the behaviour of the agents is rational and that their decisions are implicitly made by reference to family rates of return on intellectual investment.

However, unlike most rate-of-return analysis, these rates of return do not constitute productivity criteria in the sense that income is an indicator of socio-economic status and not efficiency of labour, but they constitute satisfactory indicators of the *decision criteria for the family cell* in choice of training.

Furthermore, the rate of return cannot be calculated solely in terms of direct money incomes attributable to the training; account must be taken of situation rents associated with proximity to the administrative powers or the possibility of exacting a share in the cascade of usurious credits or trading profits corresponding to the post-colonial system. School attenders in rural areas will form themselves clientèles who are obliged to render them services; they will sometimes participate in trading profits and thus constitute a rural middle class. In this sense 'ostentatious investment', regarded as an accumulation of legitimising prestige, generally leads to monetary enrichment.

Lastly, the decision to invest in the school cannot be perceived at the level of individuals; this is an investment undertaken by the *family* cell in the broad sense, leading to gains which are individual but are redistributed to the family cell and provide for the maintainance of considerable numbers of individuals or the financing of education for other agents.

To illustrate this reasoning, we shall distinguish between *global rates of return* by type of training, which can be calculated nationally and are an indicator of the hierarchised social structure (evaluated in cash terms) and of how it corresponds to training levels; this is therefore a national average; and on the basis of these, rates of return for the *various social groups* which will diverge, and lead to differences in demand for schooling.

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[1] The rate of return is the rate of discount which, applied to the sum of income supplements obtained, renders that sum equal to the total outlay committed to achieve the result.

*(a) Global rates of return for the various types of training (objective structure of the social hierarchy).* The highest rate of return is from higher education (6.3 per cent), followed by CEPE (5.8 per cent) and BAC (3.75 per cent) compared with 1.8 per cent for the BEPC.[1] These rates of return perhaps explain schooling demand. The relatively high rate for the CEPE leads to heavy global demand for first-level education; even if a peasant's son has one chance in ten of obtaining the study certificate, and if one certificate-holder in five can obtain a post at executive level D, it is 'profitable' to send the boy to school. However, rates of return are low for the BEPC and they increase as schooling is extended. At this level, school cycles are perceived as a means of pursuing studies much more than as a means of receiving a form of training with which to find employment. The flow of pupils into the first cycle of the second level is to be explained less by the rate of return it yields than by the possibility of moving on to a higher cycle.

*(a) Different rates of return according to location.* Rates of return must in fact be differentiated according to location, as a function of differences in objective probability. Rates of return are higher in state than in private education. It is highly probable that some parents (rural notables) over-estimate their children's chances of being certificate-holding wage-earners in relation to the peasants, and that managerial groups in the towns over-estimate their children's chances of obtaining the *baccalauréat* or higher-education degrees in relation to the craftsmen; a final consideration here is that there is a delay in information, so that parents only find out later about a decline in the return on training.

Rates of return by training level constitute an *objective structure*, on the basis of which the different social groups define themselves. These calculations do not justify the inference that pupils will behave 'rationally' (by maximising their inter-temporal utility function); in the first place, some agents will have decision criteria other than the material advantages accruing from education (non-commercial logic); furthermore rates of return are by no means identical according to social group. Opportunity costs and financial difficulties are greater the lower the income level. For a given training level, subsequent incomes are higher the higher the pupil's social environment. Different social groups do not have the same information about the education system. There is a certain distance between the pupil's image of school, his plans and actions.

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[1] These rates have been calculated in the author's study *Economie et enseignement à Madagascar*, Paris, IIEP, 1975, p. 318. The calculation is based on some very sweeping assumptions and should be regarded as a teaching example, not a theoretical demonstration. The only aim is to show that on average, education has different rates of return according to level of training. Changes in the assumptions (probability of obtaining a job, incomes prospects etc.) would of course make a difference to the results.

The indicator selected for the profitability of education is the ratio between hope of additional yield over the cost of the pupil trained; the numerator equals the increase in income received during the working lifetime as a result of the training, multiplied by the probability of obtaining a job; the denominator equals the cost per pupil/year multiplied by the number of pupil/years necessary to complete.

In the absence of statistical information it has not been possible to calculate separate rates of return by region, but it is possible to state the different factors affecting them which may be assumed to result in differences in the demand for schooling.

The most important factor appears to be the penetration of *trading relationships*, i.e., the impossibility of reproducing socially within the framework of older production modes; demand for schooling appears to be all the higher the greater the circulation of money and the greater extent to which products are merchandise; it is much higher in urban areas and parts of the countryside where production has a money nexus (such as the Highlands, Northern triangle and Eastern coastal strip).

The second factor, once agents are integrated in trading relations, appears to be incomes differential, i.e. the hope of additional earnings; this depends on (1) *earnings without training:* other things being equal, earnings at the outset are much lower in rural areas where produce is of low value and/or access to the land is limited; here the author feels that maintenance of the same paddy price to the producer from 1960 to 1972, together with heavy demographic pressure, are essential components of the demand for schooling in the Highlands and rice areas; in the underpopulated stockfarming areas, however, a child can be used as a member of the workforce while still very young and can reproduce himself as a stockfarmer; (2) *anticipated post-training earnings:* several elements enter at this level: the objective probabilities of advancing within the school system, and of finding paid employment on leaving school. The polarisation of Malagasy space leads to a spatial hierarchisation of anticipated earnings, which are higher the nearer one is to a major urban centre.[1]

The third factor is the *monetary and non-monetary cost* of training to families; this differs considerably according to area: more fundamentally, affluent families send their children to state schools which are partly free of charge, unlike the less prosperous.

## 2. *Strategies of the social groups*

Three types of behaviour can thus be distinguished according to region:

1. 'Traditional', strongly structured groups have lower levels of educational aspiration; children are not a very heavy economic burden and they can quickly yield a return. Furthermore, the remoteness of urban centres makes for very low educational aspiration levels. The teaching dispensed in the schools, being at odds with traditional education, is often rejected altogether. Hence the opposition to schooling in colonial times, the administrative measures taken to compel children to attend, and the present-day refusal of children to stay on once they are old enough to look after the cattle. There are also the difficulties for school attendance of the nomadic life pattern. The reproduction mechanisms of

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[1] At this level it is not a matter of income differences (although in fact there are marked salary discrepancies according to social and regional origin), but mainly of different systems of representation according to region and level of awareness.

the hierarchised social system continue to operate chiefly through ceremonial circuits and control over prestige goods, while the breakdown of lineal structures does not entail involvement in trading relationships (in Androy, Bara and Sakalava areas for example).

In fact, these behaviour patterns are increasingly on the way out; school is usually accepted for learning to read and write, for the services it can render in everyday life and in relations with the outside world (*Fanjakana* and bush traders). The pupils who go no further than primary school will be reintegrated in the 'traditional universe'; some families accept that their children, through schooling, will enter a strange world, with a body of knowledge prizing the western values of efficiency and individualism, and thus be estranged from the village community, or achieve a rural notable post at the hinge between the country masses and the administration (as teacher, medical assistant, mayor, rural commune councillor, party secretary, pastor, catechist etc.; examples here are the Tsimiety, Betsimisaraka and Betsileo social formations).

2. Certain intermediate urban groups (labourers, tradesmen, craftsmen, clerical workers) view education essentially as the means for their children to attain a certain social status, whereas others regard schooling as a way of ultimately redistributing incomes to the broader family cell. These are the groups which make the heaviest financial effort relatively, though with low chances of success. For though there is some degree of social mobility at this level, it is limited. This group will feed a tertiary urban lower middle class, cut off from the rural milieu but lacking the power to accede to higher positions of responsibility (examples are the prefectures and province headquarters).

3. Lastly, the groups at the apex of the hierarchy, urban middle classes originating from the older statutory groups (senior public servants and private sector managerial), together with the rural notables and political élites in the coastal regions, will seek to preserve their social status, the main point being to preserve a differential between the intellectual assets of the group and the intellectual assets of rising classes. They will endeavour, by a policy of elimination in the course of the cycles, to channel social pressure into dead-end types of training, or to make defensive intellectual investments. The upsurge in schooling leads rather to a translation than to a transformation of the social hierarchy.

Education is thus a counter in strategies which differ from one group to another. As a result of the education upsurge, academic certificates have been devalued and feelings of frustration have arisen, necessitating readjustments.

The heavy inequality of opportunities according to social and regional origin has however been compatible, during the first decade of independence, with powerful upward mobility. We have sought to isolate, in theoretical terms, the way in which demand for schooling expresses itself as a function of social and regional origin; in actual fact that demand depends upon the supply and is expressed in different ways according to the location of the various school networks and the position of the pupil within each cycle; although it does help to stimulate supply by means of political pressures, and private demand expressed through school fees. We now consider the strategies adopted by the authorities at the supply level.

## B. The stratification and limits upon the organisation of supply

To understand the supply strategies one has to look into the processes, mechanisms and criteria governing the allocation of resources among the various regions, what the authorities have done to contract or diversify school networks, and how they have permitted the development of private schools to satisfy demand in view of limited financial resources. We therefore distinguish here between (1) mechanisms for the allocation of public funds to the regions; (2) measures to diversify school networks; and (3) policies towards private schooling.

### *1. School financing*

As a result of the upsurge in schooling, the overall financial commitment to education had risen, in current francs, from 8 billion in 1961, or 5 per cent of GNP, to 21 billion in 1971, 9 per cent of GNP.[1]

Beyond these overall figures it is necessary to indicate the respective contributions of each province; up to 1972, the finance system was as follows:

(a) *First-cycle schools* were paid for by the *Fokon'olona*, the commune budgets and partly by the general budget,

(b) *State primary schools* were financed out of province budgets; between 1960 and 1972 the latter rose from 4.6 to 8.5 billion, while province expenditures on education rose from 1.6 billion to 4.8 billion. The elasticity of education expenditures relative to budget was 2, while province revenues based on the peasantry were limited.

(c) *State secondary schools* (CEG and *lycées*) were financed out of the national budget and, partly, with foreign aid.

(d) *The university* was financed mainly out of foreign aid, up to 1972.

Thus local community budgets almost wholly covered the costs of first-level state-sector education; the revenues of these budgets derive from the rural population whose children, however, attend mainly private or communal schools.

In contrast, the state CEG and *lycées*, mainly attended by town-dwellers, were were paid for out of central budget (and mainly indirect) taxation.

This financing system basically favours the urban classes against the rural classes, and the town middle classes against the urban mass proletariat.

Rural dwellers often pay twice over for schooling, through the capitation tax for province schools and through human investment for commune schools or school fees for the private schools. The financing procedures are a decisive element in eliminating the least advantaged rural classes.

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[1] Financial allocation mechanisms are discussed at some length in the present author's study *Economie et enseignement à Madagascar*, and the reader is referred to the appropriate chapters.

*Schooling costs* also differed according to region, especially in response to demographic density: high densities afford higher staff/pupil and pupil/building ratios and make it possible to speed up daily pupil rotation. This contrasts with the more lightly populated province with its scattered villages and families, where staff/pupil ratios are mainly determined by sub-optimal pupil numbers.

In 1972 primary school costs were also lower for the private-sector schools (5,000 Malagasy francs per pupil) than in the state sector (7,000); only the first-cycle schools showed a pupil/year cost of the order of 2,000 Malagasy francs. Thus, those provinces in which private education is the most highly developed are relatively advantaged financially. At secondary level in 1972 pupil/year costs for a private CEG were reckoned at 20,000, compared with 50,000 for its state equivalent, and in the private *lycée* at 30,000 as against 65,000 for a state *lycée*.

In view of the very uneven distribution of private schools among the regions, and disparate population densities, the provinces of Tananarive and Fianarantsoa are at a relative advantage to the other provinces in education costs.

So it would probably be fair to say that the resource allocation criteria have not really made much difference to the demand dynamic, nor reduced spatial disparities. To a considerable extent the urban world has been favoured over the rural world, the province headquarters with *lycées* over the sub-prefectures, and, within the towns, the affluent over the less affluent.

### *2. The diversification of school networks*

In view of the pressure of demand for schooling and the limited financial capacity with which to meet it, the authorities have sought to diversify the school system.

They have sought to counteract the demand by policies of two kinds: better school mapping, and a change in the ways in which a pupil moved up from CM2 to the *classe de sixième* and from the *classe de troisième* into the *classe de seconde*.

As regards the first of these, the authorities have been unable to bring private schooling under control and in many cases have been unable to prevent spontaneous foundation of state schools by the peoples concerned, inevitably requiring the provision of state teaching staff later on.

As regards the second point, the most significant measure to reduce regional and social disparities would have been the introduction, in 1971, of an examination for entrance into the *classe de seconde:* the effects of this measure would have been to improve the orientation of candidates towards technical, classical, medical and teaching studies while securing a greater degree of social justice.

There were to have been 3,528 places offered through the examination (2,651 for general and 877 for technical studies) to 20,602 candidates (3,115 from lycées, 3,017 from state schools, 13,930 from private schools). It would thus have favoured the children from such backgrounds as that of rural notables, lower executives, tradesmen and craftsmen. But under pressure from the parents of *lycée* pupils (especially at Tananarive) the authorities were obliged to eliminate the competitive examination; their action in so doing was a crucial element in touching off the academic and political crisis, and demonstrates the limits on what the authorities can do.

To meet the demand pressure the authorities have in fact introduced first-cycle schools and extended the CEGs.

The introduction of the *first-cycle school* in 1962[1] was intended as the point of departure for a sweeping transformation of the education system; there were a number of aims, which included making education a means of integrating pupils in their environment, and raising the enrolment ratio in ten years from 50 to 75 per cent, having regard to the financial constraints; the schools were to be located in neighbouring communes, relying on the *Fokon'olona* and rural communes to build them; the schoolmaster under contract to the commune received an average 33,300 francs from the commune, together with 89,000 from the general budget; school maintenance and supplies were to be paid for by the commune (25,000 francs); the master was not only to teach but to play a much wider leadership role; in association with the various rural agencies he was to spread general knowledge and commitment throughout the village. These schools were conceived from an involvement standpoint, at a time when the whole question of public salaries was to be fundamentally reviewed and the school system needed rethinking as a whole.

In the event these masters, paid four times less than ordinary primary teachers, faced a colossal task (the power of the former rural elders, exclusion from the village); when they sought to rely on the progressive forces in the villages they were silenced by the authorities.

The first-cycle schools were perceived by the rural populations as providing education 'on the cheap' and encountered heavy opposition; in 1962, 16 per cent of pupils were enrolled in first-cycle commune schools. The example of the competitive entrance examination for the *classe de seconde* and the relative failure of the first-cycle schools show the limits of policy in relation to demand, but the two cases had opposite results: attenuating rural/urban disparities for the EPCs, aggravating the disparities between Tananarive and the countryside for the latter.

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[1] The first-cycle schools constitute one of the most interesting pedagogical innovations; see Ader, *Les écoles du 1er cycle à Madagascar*, op. cit., pp. 17 and 18; Andriamasy, *L'enseignement primaire du 1er cycle à Madagascar*, Tananarive, Ministry of National Education, 1972; Ta Ngoc C., Hallak, J., Coombs, P., 'The rôle of cost analysis in the introduction and the implementation of the 1962 reform of Malagasy primary education' in *Educational cost analysis in action: case studies for planners—II*, Paris, Unesco/IIEP, 1972.

First-cycle schools and how they relate to the Malagasy school system as a whole are described in the Unesco report edited by I. Deblé, Coulomb, Lê Thanh Khôi, *Rapport du groupe de planification de l'education à Madagascar*, 19/1-19/5, 1963.

### *3. Policy towards private education*[1]

The school authorities have permitted the growth of private education, mainly at second level, and mainly in the provinces of Tananarive and Fianarantsoa.

As a result, between 1962 and 1971-72, 53 state CEGs were established, as against 198 private CEGs, and 9 state *lycées* were established, as against 51 private *lycées*.

The private financial commitment has grown considerably; the author estimates that private expenditure grew from 1.8 billion Malagasy francs in 1960 to 5 billion by 1972. This was mainly on the part of urban families.

Private expenditure on schooling varies considerably between town and country, and according to social class; in relative value it is the wage-earners (white-collar, junior officials, skilled workers) whose effort is the heaviest; farmers, traders and craftsmen approach them in this, whereas the middle and senior managers and professional classes make an effort which, though greater in absolute terms, is relatively smaller.

In the countryside the financial effort is much less, both relatively and absolutely, than in the towns (see Table 15).

TABLE 15. Private expenditure on education in an urban area (Tananarive)

| Social category | Monthly expenditure on education | Monthly monetary expenditure | Percentage | Total monthly expenditure |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Senior executives | 2 615 | 74 000 | 3.8 | 109 813 |
| Middle executives | 2 994 | 59 961 | 5.0 | 68 247 |
| White-collar, lower officials | 2 084 | 29 025 | 7.2 | 32 348 |
| Skilled workers | 1 641 | 18 781 | 8.7 | 22 190 |
| Unskilled workers | 705 | 10 341 | 6.8 | 11 988 |
| Professional | 1 396 | 66 802 | 2.1 | 74 513 |
| Trade | 1 036 | 16 570 | 6.2 | 35 691 |
| Craftsmen | 733 | 13 836 | 5.3 | 13 466 |
| Small services | 172 | 4 153 | 4.1 | 4 692 |
| Farmers | 532 | 6 949 | 7.7 | 13 988 |
| Combined | 1 244 | 19 123 | 5.5 | 22 639 |

SOURCE *Enquetes budgets en milieu urbain*, INSRE, 1973.

## C. Beyond supply and demand, the reproduction of regional and social disparities

We have distinguished between the dynamic of demand, which finds expression at the level of the *family* according to its social and spatial structure, and that of supply, which is the result of what the *State* does; beyond this, however, the mechanisms through which regional disparities are reproduced must be identified in relation to social reproduction.[1]

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[1] Nobody has yet treated this important topic to produce a broad scientific consensus, but it offers scope for some extremely significant research.

### *1. Disparities at the level of the agent*

Social origin comes into play in the stratification process at *three levels:*

1. Upon entry to the education system the pupil has a certain degree of educability which depends on the extent to which his environment prepares and encourages him academically, and a certain level of aspiration which depends on the horizon of the group to which he belongs.
2. Over the course of the education process the values transmitted and the elimination criteria largely reflect social stratification.
3. Upon leaving school the pupil must take his place in the social hierarchy and, in part, perpetuate the roles of his group of origin.

Economic, social and cultural heritage thus make the school the locus of social reproduction and its inequalities.

The question arises as to what the links are between social stratification and regional origin. We propose to cross the regional and social variables for pupils in the *classe de troisième* and their aspirations.

*(a) Pupils' social and regional origins.*[2] According to a 1971 survey of 5,196 *classe de troisième* pupils in state *lycées* and CEGs in Madagascar, there were marked differences in social origin between CEG and *lycée*. Country children represented 41 per cent of CEG enrolments, but only 13.6 per cent of *lycée* enrolments, for a national average of 26.8 per cent. Children of senior and middle executive groups represented 18.6 per cent of CEG enrolments and 40.5 per cent

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[1] The analysis of the *social reproduction* offered by the present author differs in certain respects from the work of the French structuralo-functionalist school (Bourdieu, Passeron and the Althusserian school).

In contrast with Bourdieu and Passeron, the present author tries to link social reproduction, at the level of the agent, with the level of social relations; this makes it necessary to analyse the systems of production and the government machine. However, the present author does not accept the frame of reference of the Althusserians: confusion of the mode of production of material goods and abstract social totality, the abstract status given to the social formation, ideology treated as a force, school analysed as an ideological apparatus of the State, determination in the last analysis by economics.

In the author's view, the school is not an ideological apparatus of the State but a place in which the agents become aware of the levels of social contradiction while at the same time receiving information which tends to mask those levels; determination at the end of the day by economics allows one to 'fall on one's feet again' in the framework of historical materialism; the question is how far such a determination offers any insight into the historical process of the colonial societies.

[2] For this section the author has drawn upon the results of a survey by P. Costes and S. Bouillon of *classe de troisième* pupils and some of their conclusions. This outstanding study has been an invaluable source of information. The survey was carried out under the direction of Mlle Mathieu for the *Service d'information et d'orientation scolaire et professionnelle;* in 1969 and 1970 CEG and *lycée* pupils in Tananarive were covered; in 1971 the *classes de troisième* in public Madagascar secondary schools.The second questionnaire was completed by 3,021 *classe de troisième* pupils in 17 *lycées* and 2,583 pupils in the 52 CEGs, or 5,196 Malagasy pupils out of the 5,456 in the public sector and 17,000 in all. The 4,526 pupils aged between 15 and 19 represent 0.56 per cent of the age-group (801,500).

TABLE 16. Origin of *classe de troisième* pupils.

| | Average per cent | State CEG | Lycées | Per cent of active population |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Senior executive and above | 9.1 | 3.9 | 14.0 | 0.07 |
| Middle | 20.7 | 14.7 | 26.5 | 4.2 |
| White-collar | 13.4 | 10.6 | 16.8 | ... |
| Farmers | 26.8 | 41.0 | 13.6 | 84.0 |
| Trade | 5.1 | 4.4 | 6.7 | ... |
| Other, non-wage-earning | 2.2 | 2.2 | 1.4 | 5.6 |
| Craftsmen | 5.9 | 4.8 | 6.9 | |
| Miscellaneous - not workers | 16.8 | 18.4 | 14.9 | |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 93.87 |

of *lycée* enrolments. The two school paths reproduce social stratification and lead to an intensification of inequalities in the second cycle, owing to the barrier for CEG children in moving up to the *classe de seconde*.

Lycée pupils are thus from upper middle and middle class backgrounds, whereas their CEG counterparts are from the lower middle urban classes and rural backgrounds. Children from rural homes (85 per cent of the active population) account for fewer than 30.0 per cent of school enrolments in the classe de troisième, while the children of senior and middle executive parents account for 30 per cent of enrolments, though their parents form less than 5 per cent of the active population (see Table 16).

The two networks within state first-cycle education can thus be seen. They become much more relevant on a regional basis; we distinguish between the provinces on the one hand, and the town of Tananarive, the other province headquarters and the main towns in sub-prefectures on the other.

As regards the provinces, 56.9 per cent of pupils are children of wage/salary-earners in Tananarive, compared with 35 per cent in Tamatave and 23.2 per cent in Diégo-Suarez; the cleavage between the province of Tananarive and the five others is very similar to that between *lycées* and CEGs in social origin.

Within the towns there are still greater divergences: 61.8 per cent of pupils in Tananarive town are the children of wage/salary-earners, of whom 43.3 per cent are from executive groups; in the other province headquarters the proportions are respectively 47.9 per cent and 34.6 per cent, as against 25.7 per cent and 16.5 per cent in the sub-prefecture headquarters.

The regional pattern closely follows the social cleavage (see Table 17).

*(b) Pupil aspirations according to social and regional origin.* Social and regional criteria are also closely related in terms of aspiration level.

(i) *Educational aspirations.* Ninety-six per cent of *classe de troisième* pupils wished to pursue their education and 80.4 per cent of pupils expected to extend

TABLE 17. Lycée and CEG pupils in different types of town and provinces, by parents' socio-economic category

| | Upper senior executives | Middle senior execut-ives | Middle execut-ives | White-collar | Total wage/ salary earners | Farm | Craft | Trade | Other non-wage/ salary | Total non-wage/ salary | Not active | General total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tananarive town | 16.8 | 11.2 | 15.3 | 18.5 | 61.8 | 6.3 | 7.4 | 7.5 | 2.4 | 23.6 | 14.6 | 100 |
| Other province capitals | 9.2 | 7.2 | 18.1 | 13.4 | 47.9 | 23.0 | 5.6 | 5.2 | 1.5 | 35.3 | 16.8 | 100 |
| All province capitals | 13.8 | 9.4 | 16.5 | 16.5 | 56.2 | 13.3 | 6.7 | 6.6 | 1.8 | 28.4 | 15.4 | 100 |
| Sub-prefecture main towns | 2.7 | 3.6 | 10.2 | 9.2 | 25.7 | 44.8 | 4.8 | 4.4 | 2.0 | 56.0 | 18.3 | 100 |
| *Provinces:* | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Tananarive | 14.4 | 9.5 | 15.5 | 17.5 | 56.9 | 13.4 | 7.3 | 7.0 | 1.2 | 28.9 | 14.2 | 100 |
| Fianarantsoa | 4.4 | 5.8 | 13.8 | 8.3 | 32.3 | 42.0 | 3.5 | 3.9 | 1.7 | 51.1 | 16.6 | 100 |
| Tamatave | 5.3 | 5.3 | 12.4 | 12.0 | 35.0 | 36.8 | 5.6 | 4.9 | 2.3 | 47.5 | 15.4 | 100 |
| Tuléar | 2.9 | 4.2 | 13.0 | 11.3 | 31.4 | 33.0 | 6.9 | 5.2 | 2.4 | 47.5 | 21.1 | 100 |
| Majunga | 7.5 | 5.2 | 10.2 | 7.2 | 30.1 | 37.5 | 3.7 | 3.7 | 3.1 | 48.0 | 21.9 | 100 |
| Diégo-Suarez | 2.7 | 2.1 | 9.2 | 9.2 | 23.2 | 43.1 | 2.7 | 4.0 | 1.5 | 51.3 | 25.4 | 100 |
| Total Madagascar | 9.1 | 6.9 | 13.8 | 13.4 | 43.2 | 26.8 | 5.9 | 5.1 | 2.2 | 40.0 | 16.8 | 100 |

SOURCE SOSP, p. 40.

their *schooling* for a further four, five or more years (whereas pupils aged over 18 represent half the numbers).

The level of aspiration is thus very high, with less than 10 per cent of pupils regarding the BEPC as completing their education; general studies attract the majority of Tananarive pupils and 42 per cent for Madagascar as a whole. The school is perceived as an institution apart, placing its pupils high in the hierarchy.

There is a noticeable difference between the CEGs and the *lycées*. Pupils from the popular classes (CEG) unconsciously refer in their educational and occupational decisions to their objective prospects of completing their studies, which results in a self-eliminating process, whereas the aspiration levels of *lycée* pupils remain very high.

Marked divergences can also be observed in the level of educational aspiration between Tananarive town and the five province headquarters (see Table 18).

TABLE 18. Educational aspirations

| | Tananarive | | Five province headquarters | Lycées | CEGs |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Town | Province | | | |
| Enter working life | 1.0 | 1.6 | 3.7 | 1.3 | 6.1 |
| General studies | 58.8 | 51.2 | 42.1 | 58.3 | 25.1 |
| Occupational studies | 40.3 | 47.1 | 54.2 | 40.3 | 68.8 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

(ii) *Occupational aspirations*. Where occupational aspirations are concerned pupils on the whole see themselves as part of the élite, with very high occupational and salary expectations unrelated to their probable levels of integration; they also express humane sentiments (desire to serve, to help the peasants out of their poverty etc.) and they interiorise the institutional values of the school; however, they express a substantial degree of coherence in their educational and occupational choices.

A twofold social and règional cleavage emerges: rural pupils are determined not to return to the land and regard their position as an advance beyond the peasant condition, but they choose occupations requiring an intermediate level of qualification (agricultural technician, primary teacher, medical assistant); the sons of wage/salary-earners expect to find employment as senior managerial or equivalent (medicine, pharmacy, engineering, public servant, army, navy, aviation).

The distinctions are particularly marked between Tananarive, other towns, and the bushland (see Table 19).

TABLE 19. Careers chosen and rejected by place of residence

| | First choice | | | Rejected | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Tananarive | Other towns[1] | Bush[2] | Tananarive | Other towns[1] | Bush[2] |
| *Boys* | | | | | | |
| Teaching | 10.3 | 28.1 | 40.5 | 25.9 | 17.9 | 11.5 |
| Medicine | 14.3 | 21.2 | 15.2 | 14.4 | 8.0 | 10.3 |
| Commerce | 8.6 | 2.8 | 1.8 | 16.5 | 9.5 | 10.6 |
| Agriculture | 6.2 | 12.3 | 19.5 | 0.9 | 1.6 | 2.9 |
| Technician | 43.3 | 13.6 | 10.5 | 5.1 | 4.2 | 2.9 |
| Aviation, navy | 6.7 | 4.7 | 3.0 | 2.2 | 7.1 | 10.4 |
| Political official | 1.6 | 0.5 | 1.7 | 4.5 | 4.4 | 9.7 |
| Magistrate | 0.8 | 1.9 | 0.4 | 4.7 | 4.5 | 1.8 |
| Police | 0.7 | 2.0 | 3.0 | 2.2 | 14.7 | 14.1 |
| Army | 2.2 | 3.7 | 2.1 | 2.2 | 1.4 | 1.4 |
| *Girls* | | | | | | |
| Teaching | 32.0 | 38.0 | 43.0 | 34.6 | 29.0 | 29.8 |
| Medicine | 35.0 | 42.0 | 40.0 | 27.3 | 26.0 | 21.4 |
| Commerce | 13.2 | 5.8 | 2.8 | 12.7 | 15.4 | 19.4 |
| Agriculture | 3.9 | 4.4 | 6.9 | 1.7 | 1.8 | 4.1 |
| Technician | 4.4 | 3.3 | 1.9 | 2.0 | 1.8 | 3.8 |
| Aviation | 2.5 | 1.2 | 1.2 | 2.1 | 3.9 | 4.9 |
| Magistrate | 3.7 | 2.0 | 1.6 | 4.6 | 4.1 | 3.0 |

1. Other towns: Province headquarters and Antsirabé
2. Bushland: Sub-prefectures

## 2. *Disparities in social relations*

The school must not however be regarded as a given institution possessing its own reproduction mechanisms, as has been implicitly assumed up to now, but must be analysed as being linked to the state apparatus which is itself integrated in a world system, and studied as part of a socio-historic process.

To understand the regional disparities in schooling it is necessary to investigate:

1. The way in which the process of propagation from a capitalist centre has produced an *inegalitarian spatial structure;* during the colonial period, central capitalism fed part of its accumulation by exporting a surplus from its colonial periphery; thus in colonies like these, concentric circles of underdevelopment were created around ports and capitals, where importing and exporting took place; since independence, a reduction occurred in 'external primitive accumulation' in favour of 'internal primitive accumulation' and the participation of new national areas in the concentric circles of the capital; the result was to accelerate regional imbalances and a rural exodus, with the

formation of urban units; regional disparities thus originate in the accumulation of capital and the resulting spatial imbalances.[1]

2. The way in which schools historically act as a relay, first towards the outside world as an extension of a foreign system with which to integrate the agents within a trading continuum and a technical and social division of labour defined as a function of capital accumulation, and second, within the country by welding heterogeneous social relations into a national whole, and bringing the agents into submission to the state apparatus and trading relationships.

As an institution, the school is involved in the contradictory twofold process of homogenising and differentiating the agents; it plays a part in forming society overall by constituting a *mould* with which social groups are defined against the same reference system, but at the same time acts as a *sieve* with which agents are selected in accordance with the hierarchical structure of social relations.

Within the peripheral social formations, the school plays a twofold relay role: externally, in relations with the outside world, and internally, in relations with the rural milieux; this contradictory process can be analysed at the level of the contradictory functions of the state apparatus in peripheral societies.

(a) *The links between education and the modern capitalist sector* can be described as follows:

Within a dominant production mode, the school plays a part in reproducing social relationships at three levels: as an apparatus with which to reproduce the skilled workforce and the technical division of labour, as a cultural apparatus reproducing the cultural conditions of production, and through both the above, as a participant in the reproduction of the social division of labour. The school reproduces:

1. The *material conditions of production;* by training pupils as required by the division of labour, the logic of the education system is contained within that of the production system. The school permits access to bureaucratic positions, whose importance is explained in the logic of the post-colonial system; the very heavy orientation of pupils towards academic and general studies results from the pre-eminence of tertiary occupations over the others; the reduced role of agricultural and technical education is due to the weak growth of skilled agricultural occupations and the absence of intermediate technologies; the rejection of experiments in ruralising education is explained by the weak dynamic of village communities. Elitist education, dominated by the attraction of the higher levels, reproduces a hierarchised society in which

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[1] It is not the purpose of the present study to analyse the under-development process, present though that process may be in the background; during the colonial period the system was essentially based upon cash crops and exploitation of primary products, counterbalanced by maintenance of the colonists and national élite (consumer goods imports) and infrastructure works.

Since independence, the rapid rise in government spending, the development of substitution industries associated with the marginalisation of the Third World, the reduction in cash crop prices and demographic pressure have imposed increasingly heavy demands upon the peasantry.

economic and social power are mainly in the hands of a very few nationals and foreigners.

Since the apparatus of production was almost wholly foreign-dominated, up to 1975, there was no possibility of extracting a surplus except from the domain of circulation (trade, interest on loans) and from the political and administrative power to which one gained access through school. Through numerous intermediaries, the education system reflects the division of labour. The so-called inadaptation of the school system, the irrational behaviour of the pupils who 'all want to be bureaucrats' appears, on the contrary, to be logical when viewed from this standpoint.

2. The '*cultural' conditions of production;*[1] schools disseminate an individualist type of culture, that of the advancement and promotion of the individual, rising to posts of responsibility on merit; hence the distinction between intellectual and manual work. The education system imported from Europe is the vehicle for a conception of the world which is that of a desacralized, profane universe, a technical civilisation in which work is to give value to the future. The content of the education, the structure of the language spoken and the programmes must therefore be viewed as associated with the valuing of certain occupations, the idea that one attains power through work and competence, and a pattern of social ascent drawn from abroad. At this level the school system reflects both a trading economic system, bureaucratic organisation and a break with the traditional culture (ancestor cult, prohibitions).

   Since the school system is made up not of two opposing networks, but of a series of strata corresponding to different levels of Western acculturation, the culture disseminated at the top is that of a universal scientific and technical body of knowledge, utterly unrelated to the country's own cultural forms; at the lower levels, the culture disseminated is that of a body of knowledge foreign to the rural world, leading to an almost definitive break between those who possess school knowledge and those who do not.
3. The school participates in the process by which intellectual and manual, rural and urban forms of work reciprocally deny one another. It thus reproduces a social division of labour and in particular, the interiorisation of the legitimacy of that division of labour. The surveys discussed above testify to the value set on intellectual functions and the pupils' idea that they belong to the caste of those who have knowledge. At this level the school is not only functional with respect to production (in its selecting and training function) but is also functional with respect to non-production (in its functions of the certificate cult, liberation in the imaginary, unproductive occupation of an unpaid work force), and acts as a nursery preventing or delaying the arrival of a substantial volume of labour upon the market.

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[1] Cultural, not ideological, as in the author's view the school is not so much an ideological apparatus as a place where the various representation systems are transmitted, confronted and lead to levels of awareness on the part of the pupils who support and create the knowledge transmitted.

The school plays a role of social homogenisation/differentiation by encouraging individual mobility to the detriment of the collective conscience and justifying individual failure through 'objective' criteria of the social system.

*(b) The school and the decomposition-submission of social non-trading relationships.* Analysis of the relations between school and the economy is actually more complex, in so far as the school must be related to the full range of the 'modes of production' of the peripheral social formation; it contributes to the decomposition of older social relations as an apparatus used to generalise dominant social relationships and integrate the various forms of production by socialising the agents.

We have seen that the school appears as an institution foreign to the village universe; consequently, traditional educational power, controlled by the elders, co-exists in the village with 'modern' educational power entrusted to the schoolmaster; depending on where it is, the school may, contradictorily, play a strengthening or destructive role towards the older social relationships.

The school participates in the process of generalising trading social relationships and 'liberating' the work force; it plays this role at two levels:

1. Education is an essential component in *monetising* the economy and mobilising agricultural surplus, in the same way as taxation or offertory money. To send their children to school, the peasants monetise a substantial part of their produce.

   The agricultural surplus is captured by the school in three ways: in mobilising the labour force in village communities, in the monetising of production to pay school fees, sundry educational expenditures or offertory money (private schools) and (until 1971) through the fiscal minimum tax and herd tax (50 per cent).
2. Education also plays an essential role in *'liberating the workforce'* from kinship relations; it permits the large-scale arrival on the labour market of trained workers, partly detached from their family links and their 'magic-religious' beliefs, having acquired a new form of knowledge; in this sense it is viewed by families and political authorities alike as an essential factor in 'economic development'.

   Educational demand may be explained, as we have seen, by rates of return, but these depend upon the process of proletarianisation and pauperisation in rural areas characteristic of economic under-development. Schooling is in demand as a means of advancement for the family in order to leave the rural milieu, and not as a means of transforming the traditional modes of production.

Historically, there has been permanent conflict between the school as an institution and the traditional educational power; this is why schooling has been unable to penetrate the rural world except by constraint (educational *corvée*, a requirement that each village must send one child to school) and why there are still lineal systems nowadays in which the school institution is rejected. Such opposition must not be perceived solely at the level of the encounter between the 'school of the rulers' and the education of the village community, but more fundamentally at the level of a conflict between traditional educational power in the hands of the elders and the modern educational power in the hands of the *Fanjakana*.

However, in so far as the school does not fundamentally challenge the bases of traditional power, an alliance may be formed between representatives of school power and traditional powers on the subject of liberating the workforce; rural systems acting as suppliers of labour for the colonists' needs, the classes may ally over the school provided that it remains an institution foreign to the village. To the extent that the technical message dispensed by the schoolteacher causes the young to penetrate a foreign universe, there is no risk to the elders of a challenge to their powers: either the pupil is reintegrated into the traditional universe, and his bookish learning will not challenge the power base, or he will leave the traditional universe and perhaps strengthen the authority of the elders by paying them a portion of his money earnings, such incomes being converted into prestige goods (e.g. cattle in stockfarming societies); here the school strengthens rural society. But in other cases it helps to destroy traditional social relationships by emancipating the young from the power of the sorcerers and diviners, changing the young peoples' view of the world or generating a number of contradictions tending to transform 'traditional society' (for example, young BEPC holders who are unemployed challenge the power of the notables) or helping to marginalise the young in relation to the disintegrating lineal structures. Schooling encourages the emergence in rural areas of administrative auxiliaries, interpreters, teachers, junior officials, who derive a situation rent from their proximity to the administrative power; these former pupils become rural notables who form themselves clientèles, obtain land, derive trading or moneylending profits, and form a lower middle class at the hinge between the rural masses and the remote, anonymous administration.

The school may thus be seen to replace, in part, the operating and reproduction mechanisms of the hierarchical system of a lineal society (accumulation of cattle, prestige goods used in ceremonial circuits).

Today, however, where the lineal structures are disintegrating, and the process of individualisation and proletarianisation are developing rapidly, the school is essentially a factor of transformation for traditional social relationships.

In analysing this transformation distinctions must be seen according to geographical area, and the exercise is only fully meaningful in the kind of economic anthropological research which would be beyond the scope of the present study.[1]

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1. See in particular ORSTOM: *Essai sur la reproduction des formations sociales dominées*, Paris, 1977, p. 192.

*(c) The school as an integrating institution within the social formation.* The school, as a locus for the socialisation of the agents, with its role of integration among different 'modes of production', is the object of antagonistic aims among the various groups in the social formation. It is an essential factor of linguistic unity, socialisation and learning, of the emergence of a 'desire to live collectively', national awareness and integration; the *integrating* action of the school is an object of conflict among social groups, giving rise to debate over gallicising or national values, whether teaching should be in regional 'dialects' or in a unified language. To certain rural notables and provincial political élites, the gallicising of the school system is a way of opposing the social and cultural power of an urban middle class; 'rising through the strength of wrist and pen', this élite makes its individual promotion a prototype for collective success. For an urban middle class, the imposing of national values upon the school system is part of the long tradition of struggle for national liberation, but under the cover of regaining national cohesion, it perhaps forms a means of controlling the country socially and politically, to the extent that the middle class would alone be able to master an international language for relations with the outside world.

Conflicts arise between foreign representatives and the various national groups over educational content and programmes. The conflict between giving the school system a vocational bias and general education may be related to the debate on the nationalisation of the economy and the development of the modern sector. For the representatives of industrial and agrarian capitalism, given the present structure of economic power, the right approach is to emphasize the vocational aspects, and work towards selective education; hence the foundation of the IUTs, the vocational paths at secondary level to provide the cadres required by modern undertakings, and the desire for a selective type of education. For advocates of nationalising the economy, which mainly means state control over the trading sector, the main priority should be to train high-level managers capable of taking over from foreigners, receiving a general education in the traditional faculties. For those who advocate socialism based on peoples' development structures, the main priority should be to train up motivated cadres in rural areas, turning the school into a device for ideological mobilisation.

Lastly, the school socialises agents by giving them not just a qualification, a body of know-how and a system of values, but also by providing models for behaviour and by forming their personalities. What the school transmits is not so much knowledge and a system of belief as a structuring of the child's personality; this structuring goes far deeper than mere ideas. At this level the school is both complementary to and competitive with the family milieu; hence the many conflicts between different family cells and the school.

Thus on the one hand, school knowledge is not neutral; there is some degree of cultural arbitrariness. Education content is an element in westernisation and the development of trading relations, but on the other hand, education dispenses weapons, instruments of analysis and mastery of what there is, with which to fight against forms of cultural domination. This process of education is fundamentally contradictory: it bears within itself its own negation; beyond structural determinisms there is a zone of liberty impervious to analysis by the social sciences.

The logic and contradictions of education cannot, then, be explained if one remains at the level of education itself. The élitist education system dominated by the attraction of the upper reaches reproduces a hierarchical society in which economic and social power remain, for the most part, in the hands of a few foreigners and nationals; but the various social forces challenge the reproduction mechanisms and lead to transformation in the social relationships.

# Conclusion

## Strategies for reducing regional disparities since the Second Republic

The regional disparity phenomenon whose emergence and reproduction have been analysed must ultimately be explained in terms of the logic of the Malagasy social formation, historically structured as part of the world economy and characterised internally by marked differences.

The growing contradictions, which are perceived at the level of the school system but originate in the logic of the Malagasy social formation, led in 1971/72 to a schooling crisis which touched off a socio-economic crisis and led to a change of political régime.[1]

Since 1972, and especially since 1975, there has been a determination to break with the former system, both economically and educationally; there has been a very marked tendency towards diversification in international trade and state control over the important parts of the economy, with reliance on communal structures in the rural areas, *Fokon'olona* and socialist co-operatives; in the field of education, the upsurge in schooling has been accelerated while at the same time the school as an institution has broken off its links with the former metropolis, accompanied by a drive to decentralise the school system and reduce regional disparities; options such as a brake on private schooling, the awarding of scholarships to Coastal inhabitants, priority foundation of state schools for basic and secondary education in the disadvantaged areas, the decentralisation of the university in the six provinces and the democratisation of entrance examinations for the *classes de sixième* and *seconde* are all measures tending to reduce regional disparities.

An attempt may also be noted to decentralise the financing of education by mobilising resources at the level of new administrative areas.

The principal measures taken to reduce regional disparities have been as follows:[2]

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[1] The present author discusses recent economic trends and policies in 'L'évolution et la politique économiques récentes', in *Revue politique Africaine et malgache. Le Mois en Afrique*, November, 1977.

[2] On the recent period see: *Annuaires statistiques* (Statistical yearbooks) 1971, 1974, 1975, Service de la statistique et du sondage; *L'enseignement à Madagascar en 1975*, Educational Planning Department, Ministère de l'éducation nationale, September 1977; Application from the Malagasy government to the World Bank: Second education project, 1975.

1. *Standardisation of first-level education.* The first-cycle schools have been abolished; the pedagogical centres have been standardised; more CM1 and CM2 classes have been introduced to convert the traditional schools gradually into full-cycle schools. In the basic education plan, each *fokontany* is to have a school (which assumes one million additional pupils to be schooled between 1978 and 1981). The 10,000 additional teachers required have been recruited by a national agency which takes BEPC holders in search of employment and allocates them to their provinces of origin. Teaching content has been changed; so has the teaching language which, during the first few years, should match that of the family and social milieu.

2. *Gradual takeover by the State from private schools.* The proliferation of state primary and, in particular, second-level schools tends to reduce the share of private education. At secondary level the bottlenecks at entry to the *classe de sixième* and *classe de seconde* have been largely relieved; in four years the proportion of secondary pupils in the private sector has declined from 75 to 50 per cent.

3. *Changes in the allocation of resources.* Since 1972 first-cycle schools and province budget revenues (capitation tax) have been abolished; the general budget has taken on responsibility for total state primary expenditures. From 1972 to 1973 the reduction in private secondary education (by 5.1 per cent) and the rapid growth of state secondary education (up 24 per cent) increased education's share in the general budget; it would therefore be fair to say that social and regional disparities have been reduced at the level of the resource allocation mechanisms.

4. *Changes in content and programmes.* Lastly, the content, programmes and meaning of education have changed; the education system has unhooked itself from the French model; certificates are no longer fully equivalent to French certificates; teaching is in the Malagasy language, especially at the lower levels; education is expected to play a role in fostering ideological mobilisation and awareness in the building of socialism.

It may however be asked whether at the level of the mechanisms of reproduction for agents and social relations, there has been a total break with the previous period; for the *agents* the measures have the effect, internally, of encouraging the advancement of those from disadvantaged regions; however, it may be that part of the future Madagascar élite is being trained outside Madagascar; furthermore, teaching in the Malagasy language is liable to favour the urban groups, which tend to be bilingual, and these would have exclusive control over foreign trade and relations. At the level of *social* relations, a substantial portion of the foreign production machinery is today in the hands of nationals, both in the private sector and particularly in the state sector; but social differentiation within the peasantry, between the rural and urban world and, within the latter, among the various social groups, is tending to increase.[1] If one considers that in the last resort, regional disparities originate in the structure of social relationships, and in the economic disparities to which these give rise, one may wonder to what extent the reproduction mechanisms which this study has sought to unravel have really been broken up. Only the future will tell.

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[1] The extension of the social differentiations may appear questionable; two measures have, however, contributed to it. The higher paddy price (which doubled to the producer) certainly brought about a temporary reduction in the terms of trade between town and country; but it also accentuated the difference between peasants with no land, or a rice deficit, and those producing a surplus; as Malagasy nationals took over the means of production, the number of Europeans declined (from 40,000 to 15,000); the internal consumer market for European consumer products appears not to have declined to any great extent, although in 1972 the 40,000 Europeans represented 40 per cent of the internal market.

# Regional disparities in the development of education in Thailand

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# Introduction

During the 1960s and the early 1970s the Thai educational system experienced a very rapid expansion. This expansion has brought about some important results and today it may be said that nearly every child is admitted to lower primary school. However, in the school system, children can have very different careers. A large proportion of them do not go beyond the four years of lower primary. In other words, in spite of the expansion in enrolment, important disparities exist, particularly with regard to retention. The aim of this study is precisely to shed some light on the different aspects of disparities in educational development.

The reasons underlying these disparities are diverse and some of them go far back in the history of educational development in Thailand. In Chapter I we have tried therefore to give a general overview of the rapid development of the educational system and its present-day characteristics.

The next step is to describe the existing disparities in *access* to the various levels and stages of education, using the provinces as a unit (Chapter II). The possible relationships between these disparities in access and the disparities in school characteristics are then systematically explored (Chapter III).

Although disparities are sizeable between the various provinces of the country, large differences can also be observed within each province. These intra-provincial disparities relate mainly to the differences between rural and urban areas. In the case of Thailand, rural-urban disparities can be assessed particularly in primary education because there are two different school networks for rural and urban children. In the rural areas are located the provincial schools which are run by the provincial authorities under the supervision of the Ministry of the Interior. In the urban areas are found experimental and demonstration schools run by the Ministry of Education, municipal schools run by the municipalities and private schools. The characteristics and the performances of these school networks are of course quite different. Disparities between rural and urban areas can also be indirectly assessed by establishing systematic correlations between the rate of urbanisation of the various provinces and other indicators related to access to education or school characteristics. This is what we will attempt to see in Chapter IV.

Regional disparities in educational development are however only one aspect of a more general problem. Similar disparities exist in the economic and social field. The pattern of regional disparities in economic and social development and their relationship with disparities in educational development will be studied in Chapter V.

The data used in this study are generally available in all countries. They include variables on access to education, variables on flow rates, variables on school characteristics and several indicators of economic and social development. All these data are broken down by province and whenever possible by rural and urban areas.

The systematic analysis of these data, the use of correlations to explore possible relationships, the extensive utilisation of maps in order to identify the geographical pattern of regional disparities may help, it is hoped, to give a clearer picture of inequality and to contribute to a thorough diagnosis of the present situation of education in Thailand.

# I. Past development and present characteristics of the Thai educational system

## A. Historical overview of educational development

The history of educational development in Thailand can be divided, broadly speaking, into two major periods. The first goes from the early part of Thai history, Sukhothai period, *circa* 1220, to the movement for modernisation during the reign of King Chulalongkorn characterised in 1887 by the establishment of the Department of Education, and the second period from that date until today.

### *1. Before the reign of King Chulalongkorn*

During this period of Thai history there was no formal education in the modern sense. Basically, education was organized in the temples and conducted by the monks. One can observe however a certain evolution both in the content of education and in its degree of development. From that point of view, it is convenient to distinguish three sub-periods: Sukhothai period; Ayuthaya period; and Thonburi and early Bangkok.

*(a). Sukhothai period (1220-1350).* The main purpose of learning during *the earlier part of the Sukhothai period* was to read and write in order to understand the *tripitaka* (Buddhist scriptures). However, other subjects were also taught: traditional medicine, construction, astrology, magic and the art of self-defence. Parents who wished to have their sons educated had to send them to stay at the temple when they were approximately 10 years old. These temple boys learned reading, writing and arithmetic and practised chanting the stanzas. When they came of age, they would enter the priesthood. By then, they would be prepared to write and read more and more difficult texts until attaining the highest level.[1]

With the development of education, its nature changed slightly. It no longer consisted of a preparation for the priesthood. In the later part of the Sukhothai period, it was in fact classified into categories: ecclesiastic (Buddhism) and secular. The former was a direct study in Buddhism. The latter was organised in the temples for the children of common people, and in individual scholars' houses for the princes, princesses and the children of noblemen and courtiers.[1] Judging from *Triphum Phra Ruang*,[2] we may note that students in those days studied subjects comparable to modern ones: Buddhism, geography, anthropology, public administration, astronomy and ethics.

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[1] Thin Ratikanok. *Education in old Lanna Thai*. *report on the seminar History and Archaeology. Lanna Thai*. University of Chiengmai. mimeo. 1968. pp. 53–54.

In some scholars' houses students were taught military arts (weaponry and strategy), religion (Brahminism and Buddhism), astrology, medicine, construction, arts and crafts and feminine handicrafts (carving, embroidery and cloth-making).[3] In addition, it was mentioned both on an inscribed stone and in a book that King Ramkhamhaeng the Great taught his courtiers and people ethics and Buddhism.[4]

*(b). Ayuthaya period (1350-1767).* During this period the influence of Buddhism increased. The role played by the priests became more and more important. For instance, King Borom Kosa[5] declared that he would not appoint anyone to serve in his court if he did not enter the priesthood. This order initiated a strong tradition in the recruitment of courtiers and government officials which lasted for several centuries. In addition to the education given in the temples, however, education was also organised, during some reigns, in the palace and in scholars' houses.

*(c). Thonburi and Early Bangkok (1768-1868).* During this period, education was provided to both the masses and the élite. It continued to be dependent on the Buddhist clergy in provincial and metropolitan monasteries and on the scribes under royal patronage. The general principle was that Thai boys would be sent to be educated at the local monasteries, where the monks acted as teachers and the abbots as headmasters. There they could learn to read and write and chant the holy prayers and, in return, they fetched and carried for their masters and monks.

This method of education was not systematic, for the monks taught only when they were free, and the boys could be taken from the temples by their parents when such needs arose as the planting and harvesting of rice or when they were old enough to be of use at home. Further education could be obtained after the age of twenty, when most young men were ordained as monks for a certain period. They could then learn to read the Khmer writing used in holy scriptures.

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1. Phraya Priyattithamthada, "Old Education", *Vajiranana*, Vol. V., No. 4-5, 1897.
2. *Triphum Phra Ruang*, Kurusabha Press, 1960, p. 325.
   (This book is so old that we cannot determine who is the author. Some scholars believe it was written by King Lithai or by the royal command of this king.)
3. Department of Fine Arts, *Thao Srichulalak's text*, Bangkok, Pakdipradit press, 1965, p. 8.
4. Department of Fine Arts, *Phra Ruang's proverb or Phra Ruang's declaration*, Bangkok, Sivaporn Press, 1962.
5. Ministry of Education, *History of the Ministry of Education 1887–1964*, Bangkok, Kurusabha Press, 1964, p. 2.

They could also receive vocational training from those monks who were skilled in the arts and crafts.[1]

During the last four decades of the Early Bangkok period, from 1825 to 1867, western military and commercial power began to impinge upon Thai political consciousness. Fortunately, the Thai reaction to the West was realistic and positive. It was also during this period that western thought began to challenge traditional Thai ways of thinking. The first attempts to translate the new thoughts into practical reality took place within the traditional intellectual and academic centres of the palaces and the metropolitan royal monasteries. Educational subjects such as comparative religions, international affairs, ancient and modern languages, and modern science and technology were provided. King Mongkut[2] himself learned Latin and English, arithmetic, astronomy and techniques of printing, and encouraged his cousins and followers to take up modern medical practices and to study chemistry and other sciences.

### 2. *Educational development in modern Thailand*

The threat of western imperialism, combined with certain internal political movements, drove the Thai leaders to strengthen their control over the provinces, to improve their military organisation, and to reform their government and administration. The role of education in this critical period was to help produce a new generation of leaders and administrators in order to anticipate and keep pace with the momentum of the great reforming processes.

During the first decade of his reign, which began in 1868, King Chulalongkorn, like his predecessors, tried first to improve the palace education. In 1870 the King founded a school for his brothers, half-brothers, cousins and the children of his courtiers whom he enrolled in the militarised Corps of Pages. This school represented a major improvement on past models. It did not operate on an irregular personal basis but had a regular headmaster and teachers who taught according to a time-table and in proper classrooms. Students learned reading, writing, arithmetic and official rules and regulations. The main objective was the training of students for government service.[3]

King Chulalongkorn realised, however, that he also had to go beyond the palace walls and make innovations in order to help Thai education produce the qualified personnel so urgently needed at that time for the reform of the government and administration. As a result, the government's major efforts in educational reform were soon directed towards not only the expansion of primary schools for the masses (by 1885, 142 schools were operating in the

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[1] Sathienkoset (Phraya Anuman Rajdhon), *Chiwit chao thai samai kon*. (Lives of the Thai people in olden days), Bangkok, 1957, pp. 131–136.

[2] R. Lingat, *La vie religieuse du Roi Mongkut*, The Siam Society 50th Anniversary Commemorative Publication, Bangkok, 1954, pp. 27–28.

[3] See *Prawat krasuang suksathikan 2435-2507* (The history of the Ministry of Education 1892–1964), Bangkok, 1964, pp. 28–30.

Bangkok region and 20 more in the nearby provinces; these schools belonged mostly to the temples), but also the establishment of state-run secondary schools and the encouragement of private secondary schools.

The great reforms of the late 1880s and the 1890s soon caused the government to realise, however, that the personnel it needed would be even better qualified if they had received some form of higher education or advanced technical training. In 1899 a school of higher education was opened within the Ministry of the Interior. It was called the Royal Pages' School or the Rongrien Mahatlek Luand, and provided a three-year course for the future administrators of the Ministry of the Interior. The Royal Pages' School continued to serve only this purpose until 1910, when it was merged with the Sirirat Medical School and the Teacher Training School which had been founded in 1889 and 1892 respectively. This unit, which was a real proto-university, became known as the Civil Service School or Roungrien Kharatchakan Phonlaruan.[1]

Since there were more schools to look after, the government decided at that time to establish the Department of Education, charging it with the responsibility for the general development of education and with the very difficult task of supervising the teaching of the monks. The Department of Education was, thus, to organise and promote education, textbook production, school inspection and the demonstration of effective teaching methods. It had also to supervise directly the schools.

These tasks remained the same when it became the Ministry of Education in 1892. During this period there were thus two types of schools: public schools, and private schools which were authorised by the Ministry of Education and were allowed to teach children in line with government school curricula.

In 1895 a further reorganisation of the school system took place with the creation of three levels of general education: two grades at Level I, three Grades at Level II and four grades at Level III. The duration of instruction was not however strictly one grade for one year, and it might take a talented child less time than the number of grades to complete one level. This reorganisation was completed in 1898, when the educational system was, for the first time, divided into two categories—general education and specialised education. General education consisted of pre-primary, primary and secondary levels. Specialised education covered the specialised studies, namely, teacher training, fine arts, law, medicine, handicrafts, business and agriculture.

In 1902 it was proclaimed that the government would provide education for all citizens throughout the kingdom. The general aims were to enable them to acquire knowledge in general education, and knowledge and skills in working in accordance with their abilities and interests. It was stressed also that public primary education could not be wholly supported by the government alone. It had to go, hand in hand, with instruction in the temples.

In 1921 the government promulgated the Primary Education Act, requiring every 7-year-old child to receive free primary education until he reached the age of 14 (Educational Scheme, 1921). By virtue of this Act a direct education tax was levied to provide for the establishment and maintenance of public primary schools. With the introduction of this law, the number of primary schools was greatly increased.

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[1] *The Thesaphiban system or provincial administration*. Bangkok, 1960. 2nd edition, pp. 156–159.

After the *coup d'état* of 1932 educational policies and plans were reviewed, and it was declared that all people would be provided equal opportunity in education in accordance with their individual abilities to learn and to support themselves. The government would implement and support compulsory elementary education for all children, as stipulated in the Primary Education Act of 1921. Girls would be given equal opportunity to learn. The government would support and subsidise all public primary schools from the national budget.

The educational structure was revised again. Primary education comprised 6 years of schooling, 4 years at lower-primary level and 2 years at upper-primary level. Secondary education consisted of 8 years of schooling: 4 years of junior-secondary and 4 years of senior-secondary. Technical or vocational education was also divided into two cycles of 4 years for the various types of occupational training. It should be noted that later on the government considered the primary education of 6 years to be too long, so in 1936 it was reduced to 4 years.

The major change, however, was the promulgation of the Municipality Act, which empowered the municipality to administer primary education within its area of responsibility. In accordance with this Act, the Ministry of Education transferred the administration of primary schools in the municipalities to municipal council jurisdiction.

The scope of responsibility of the Ministry of Education was further reduced in 1966, when the Government decided to transfer most of the public primary schools to the Provincial Administrative Authorities. The Ministry of Education, through the Department of General Education, administers *only* those primary schools reserved for experimentation and demonstration purposes, upper-primary schools situated in villages where compulsory education has not been achieved, schools for socio-economically deprived children, and secondary schools. It should be noted here that the budgets for municipal and provincial authorities' schools are *mostly subsidized by the central government through the Ministry of the Interior*. The 1966 Act has, in other words, led to a reduction of the responsibility of the Ministry of Education rather than to a real decentralisation of educational administration.

In conclusion, Thai education has required little more than a hundred years to evolve from its traditional form (education in the temple) to the modern system known today. From the 1820s to the 1920s through the years of western political and military pressure on the Thai nation and western intellectual challenge to the Thai mind, the transition was made from informal teaching to a standard education under the supervision of a centralised educational bureaucracy.

Nevertheless, the Thai educational system continues to keep some of the characteristics it had at the outset. As we have seen, education started in the temples and even at the present time many public primary schools, particularly in rural areas, are located in Buddhist temples. Education was also first developed in Bangkok and the neighbouring provinces, and even today the pattern of regional disparities continues to be a centre-periphery one, the situation in Bangkok and the central plains contrasting with that of the border regions of the country.

## B. The educational system prior to the 1977 Reform

In 1977 an important reform was introduced to the Thai educational system. We will give the main features of this reform in the next section. It should be noted, however, that this reform is only beginning to be implemented. The analysis done in this study relates, of course, to the situation and the structure existing before the reform. It is important therefore to give the characteristics of the educational system prior to the reform.

As can be seen from Figure 1, the system was divided into four levels: kindergarten or pre-primary education; elementary education; secondary education; and higher education.

### *1. Pre-primary education*

Kindergarten or pre-primary education was legally introduced to the Thai educational system in 1932. This level of education is not compulsory and the age-group corresponding to it is the group of 3 to 6 years. In 1962 one kindergarten school was set up by the Department of Elementary and Adult Education. At present, there are not more than 100 government kindergarten schools throughout the entire country. Education in these schools is aimed at the child's growth and physical, mental, emotional and social development, so that he will be ready for the next stage of education—primary school. All these schools are located in urban areas. They are attached to the Department of General Education, Ministry of Education. Some government schools, such as PAO, Municipal and Demonstration, have opened pre-primary classes. There are also a large number of private kindergarten schools, mostly situated in Bangkok and the large cities. It should be noted, however, that it is mostly civil servants and the rich who send their children to these schools.

### *2. Primary education*

Primary education comprises 4 years for the lower grades and 3 years for the upper grades, covering the age-group of 7- to 13-year-olds. Education used to be compulsory for only the first 4 grades. It has however been gradually extended to 7 grades. Elementary school administration should be clearly explained at the outset, because disparities in educational development occur already at this very level.

The system of school administration in Thailand is a very complicated one, involving various organisations as shown in Figure 2. Schools located in *rural areas* are attached to the Provincial Authority Organizations (70 provinces). These PAO schools are under the control of the provincial governors, who are appointed by and attached to the Ministry of the Interior. The budget for these PAO schools is mostly financed through the Division of Rural Education of the Department of Local Administration at the Ministry of the Interior.

In *urban areas*, there are four types of schools:

1. The municipal school. These schools are attached to the municipalities and partially subsidised by the Department of Local Administration of the Ministry of the Interior. The rest comes from the municipality's own budget.
2. The experimental school run by the Ministry of Education. These MOE schools are well-equipped and financed by the Division of Elementary Education, Department of General Education, Ministry of Education.
3. The demonstration school. These schools are attached to Teacher-training Colleges or University Schools of Education. They have a large proportion of faculty members' children! The Teacher-training Colleges are financed by the Department of Teacher Training, Ministry of Education, while the Universities are financed by the Bureau of Universities in the Office of the Prime Minister.
4. The private school. The private schools come under the control of the Office of Private Education Commission, Ministry of Education. School expenditure is covered mainly by tuition fees. Many private schools are partially subsidised by the government, but this is not the case for all of them.

In 1975 the distribution of enrolment in the various types of schools in urban and rural areas was as follows:[1]

| *Urban areas* | *Enrolment* | % |
|---|---|---|
| Municipal schools | 291 426 | 5.62 |
| Experimental *and* Demonstration schools | 110 967 | 2.13 |
| Private schools | 484 511 | 9.33 |
| *Rural areas* | | |
| Provincial schools | 4 305 291 | 82.92 |
| | 5 192 195 | 100.00 |

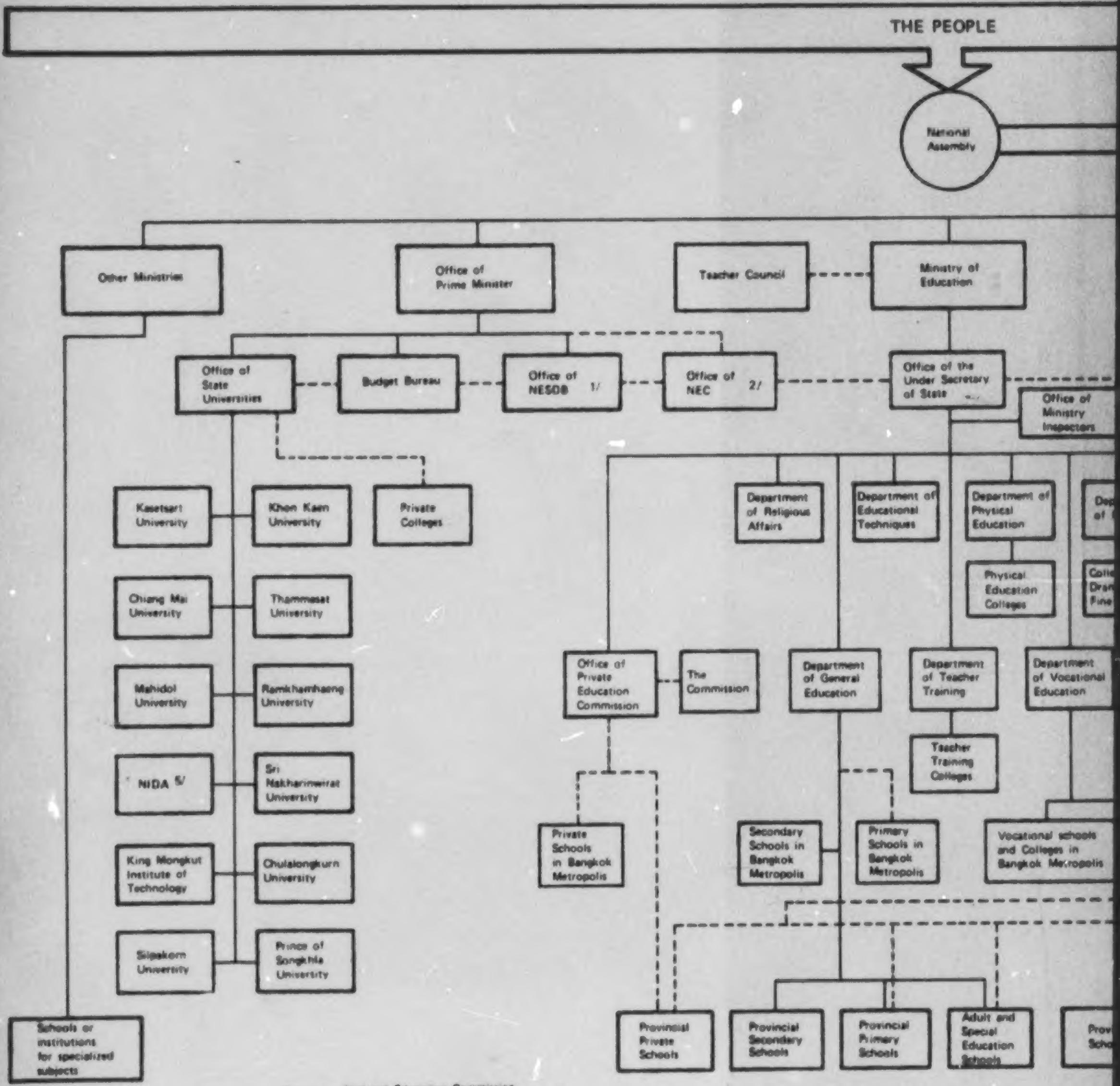
There are of course important disparities in resources and in the quality of education in these different types of school. We shall come back to this aspect in Chapter IV, when we shall try to analyse the disparities between urban and rural areas.

### 3. *Secondary education*

Secondary education consists of 3 years at the lower level, 2 or 3 years at the upper level. The two-year upper-secondary education is usually called the academic stream, while the three-year upper-secondary education is called the vocational stream. An important point to be mentioned here is that most of the secondary schools are situated in the urban areas.

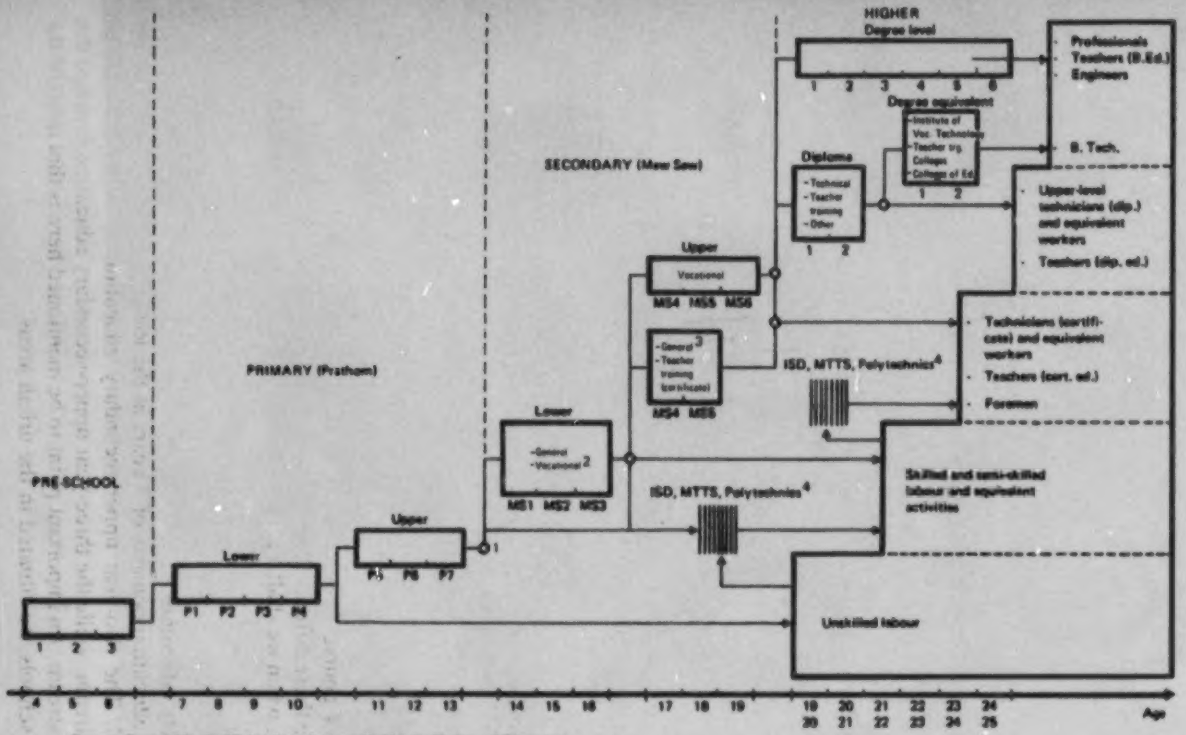
---

[1] *Source:* Ministry of Education, *1975 Statistical yearbook*, Bangkok, 1976.


THE PEOPLE
National Assembly
Other Ministries
Office of Prime Minister
Teacher Council
Ministry of Education
Office of State Universities
Budget Bureau
Office of NESDB 1/
Office of NEC 2/
Office of the Under Secretary of State
Office of Ministry Inspectors
Kasetsart University
Khon Kaen University
Private Colleges
Chiang Mai University
Thammasat University
Mahidol University
Ramkhamhaeng University
NIDA 3/
Sri Nakharinwirat University
King Mongkut Institute of Technology
Chulalongkorn University
Silpakorn University
Prince of Songkhla University
Schools or institutions for specialized subjects
Department of Religious Affairs
Department of Educational Techniques
Department of Physical Education
Physical Education Colleges
Office of Private Education Commission
The Commission
Department of General Education
Department of Teacher Training
Teacher Training Colleges
Department of Vocational Education
Private Schools in Bangkok Metropolis
Secondary Schools in Bangkok Metropolis
Primary Schools in Bangkok Metropolis
Vocational schools and Colleges in Bangkok Metropolis
Provincial Private Schools
Provincial Secondary Schools
Provincial Primary Schools
Adult and Special Education Schools

*Source* National Education Commission
*Note* – – – – – Non administrative links.

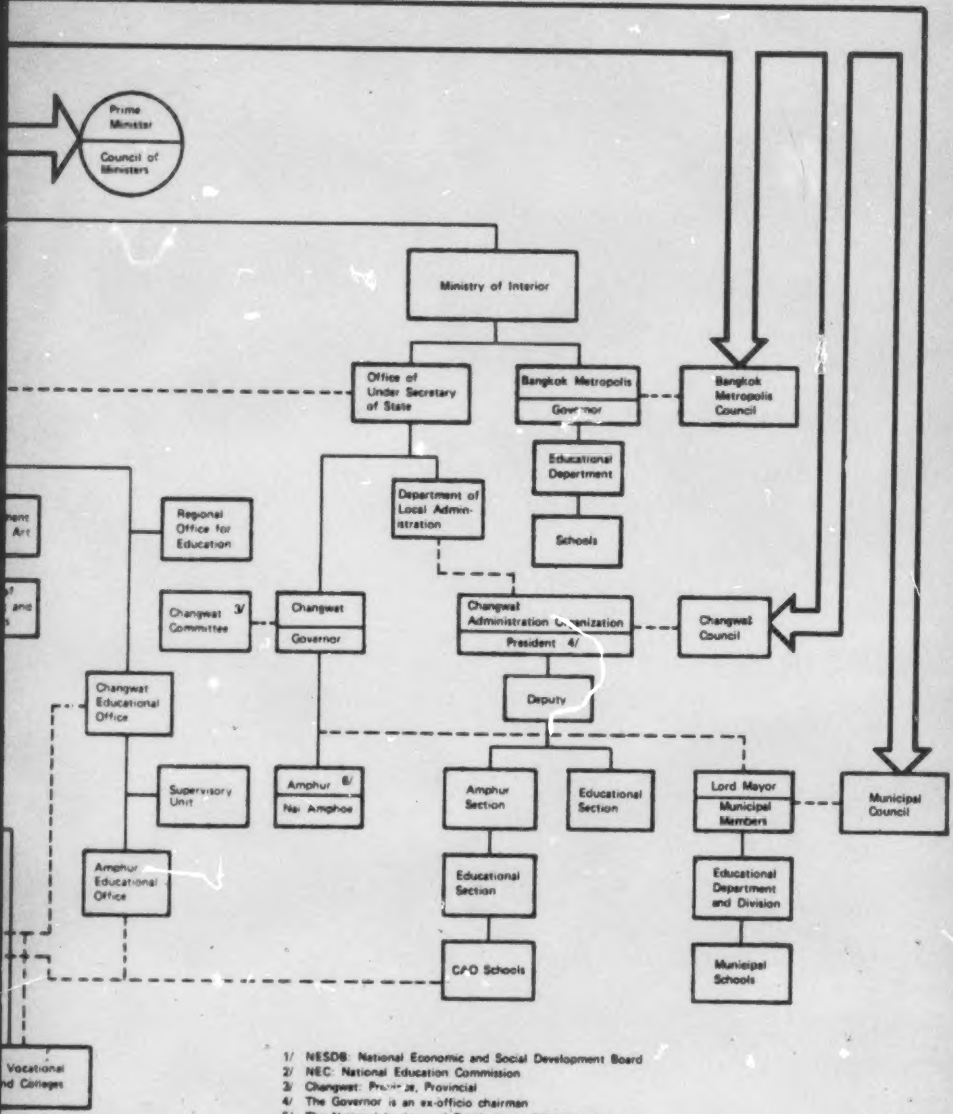
FIGURE 2. *Administration of education, 1974.*


HIGHER
Degree level
1 2 3 4 5 6
- Professionals
- Teachers (B.Ed.)
- Engineers
Degree equivalent
-Institute of Voc. Technology
-Teacher trg. Colleges
-Colleges of Ed.
1 2
- B. Tech.
SECONDARY (Maw Saw)
Diploma
- Technical
- Teacher training
- Other
1 2
- Upper-level technicians (dip.) and equivalent workers
- Teachers (dip. ed.)
Upper
Vocational
MS4 MS5 MS6
- General 3
- Teacher training (certificate)
MS4 MS5
- Technicians (certificate) and equivalent workers
- Teachers (cert. ed.)
- Foremen
ISD, MTTS, Polytechnics 4
PRIMARY (Prathom)
Lower
-General
-Vocational 2
MS1 MS2 MS3
Skilled and semi-skilled labour and equivalent activities
ISD, MTTS, Polytechnics 4
PRE-SCHOOL
Upper
P5 P6 P7
1
Lower
P1 P2 P3 P4
1 2 3
Unskilled labour
4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19
19 20 20 21 21 22 22 23 23 24 24 25
Age

Source: Prepared by the Mission from data supplied by the Ministry of Education.

○ 1. Dual examinations (leaving certificate and next level entrance).
2. Being phased out.
3. Including comprehensive.
4 Institute for Skill Development: Mobile Trade Training Schools

FIGURE 1. *Structure of the education system, 1975.*


Prime Minister
Council of Ministers
Ministry of Interior
Office of Under Secretary of State
Bangkok Metropolis
Governor
Bangkok Metropolis Council
Educational Department
Schools
Department of Local Administration
Regional Office for Education
Art
and
Changwat 3/ Committee
Changwat
Governor
Changwat Administration Organization
President 4/
Changwat Council
Changwat Educational Office
Deputy
Supervisory Unit
Amphur 6/
Nai Amphoe
Amphur Section
Educational Section
Lord Mayor
Municipal Members
Municipal Council
Amphur Educational Office
Educational Section
Educational Department and Division
CAO Schools
Municipal Schools
Vocational
nd Colleges

1/ NESDB: National Economic and Social Development Board
2/ NEC: National Education Commission
3/ Changwat: Province, Provincial
4/ The Governor is an ex-officio chairman
5/ The National Institute of Development Administration
6/ Amphur: District

The Government secondary schools, in the academic stream, are attached to the Department of General Education. The government secondary schools in the vocational stream are attached to the Department of Vocational Education, Ministry of Education. In these schools training is offered in about 40 occupations. We should also mention that students who have completed lower-secondary school can also study 2 years more in a teacher-training college to obtain a teaching certificate. These teacher colleges are attached to the Department of Teacher Training, Ministry of Education.

The present trend is to change gradually to comprehensive education. It is also to be noted that, in the existing system, vocational training does not begin before the commencement of upper-secondary education, in other words at the age of 17.

### 4. *Higher education*

Higher education normally consists of 4 years after Grade 12 (MS 5) in order to obtain a Bachelor Degree. Most institutions of higher education, both private and government, are attached to the State University Bureau, Office of the Prime Minister. Some institutions, such as *teacher-training colleges* and *vocational and technological institutes*, are still attached to the Ministry of Education under the Department of Teacher Training or to the Department of Vocational Education. Most institutions of higher education are situated in the Bangkok metropolis.

## C. The 1977 reform of the educational system

On 31 March 1977, by Royal Announcement, a new national scheme of education was introduced in Thailand. The new structure of the educational system is shown in Figure 3.

According to the National Scheme, the Thai educational system should have the following characteristics:

> The content and learning process at each level, primary, secondary and tertiary should be functional and self-terminating to ensure that school-leavers at each level will be able to have a livelihood with confidence in their knowledge and capabilities.
>
> The content and the learning process must enable learners to think for themselves, to act intelligently, to solve problems, to be willing to work and to be interested in participating in public affairs. Learners should become lawful, patriotic citizens, firm believers in their religious faith and in a democratic form of government with the King as Head of State.
>
> *Pre-school education* is aimed at child-rearing and upbringing prior to compulsory education. Proper care and training should be given to form a solid foundation for compulsory education.
>
> *Primary education* aims to provide and to maintain literacy and to develop in the individual cognitive ability, numerical manipulation and communication skills, adequate knowledge and abilities to apply in future occupational roles. It also aims

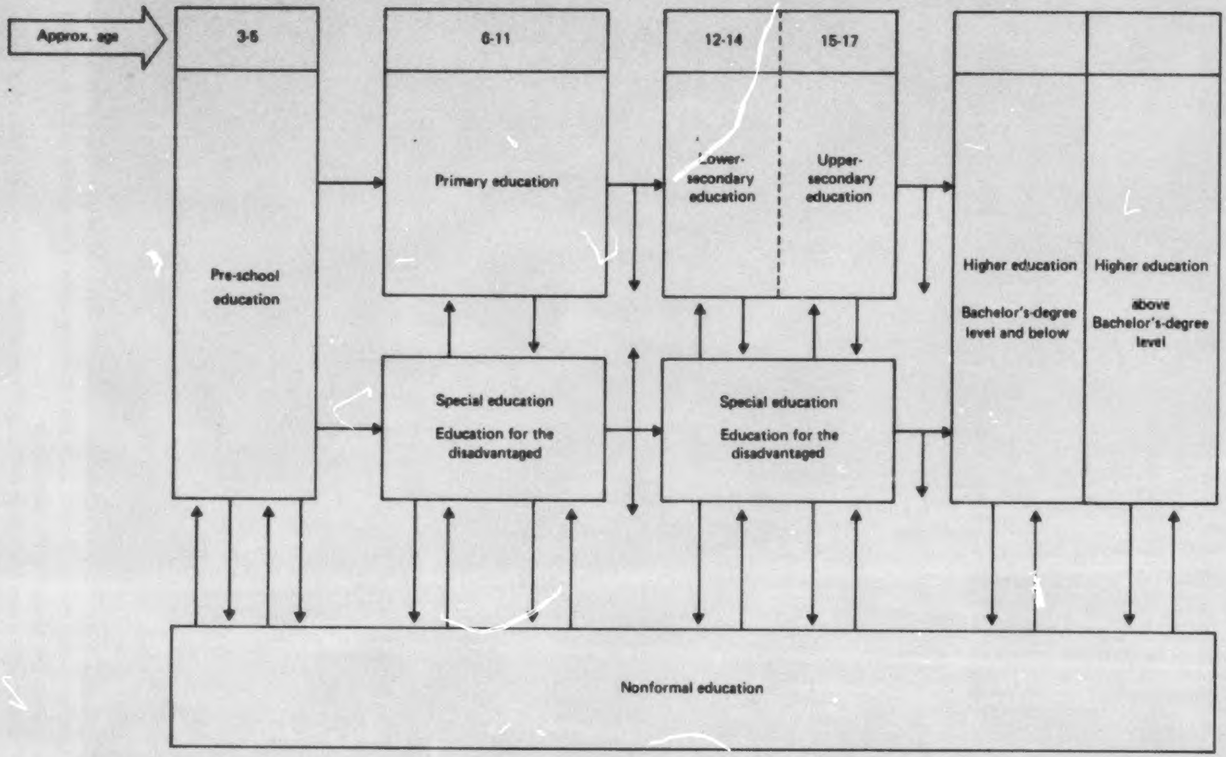

Approx. age
3-5
6-11
12-14
15-17
Pre-school education
Primary education
Lower-secondary education
Upper-secondary education
Higher education
Bachelor's-degree level and below
Higher education
above Bachelor's-degree level
Special education
Education for the disadvantaged
Special education
Education for the disadvantaged
Nonformal education

FIGURE 3. *The educational system, 1977.*

towards personal development and the promotion of upright citizenry desirable for life in a democratic government under the monarchy.

Primary education shall be offered in continuity for a period of about six years.

*Secondary education* or post-primary education aims to provide appropriate academic and vocational knowledge compatible with the learner's age, needs, interests, skills and aptitudes which ultimately will be beneficial to his chosen career and his society.

Secondary education shall be divided into two segments, namely, lower secondary education and upper secondary education, each of which requires three years of study.

Extensive elective subjects in the academic and vocational areas shall be offered in the lower secondary level. In the upper secondary level, learners shall be guided to concentrate on areas of specialization needed for their chosen career or occupation.

*Higher education* or education at the tertiary level aims at the full development of human intellectual abilities to facilitate the advancement in knowledge and technology. High level academic and professional manpower for national development is to be produced. An individual trained at this level should be a person fully aware of his cultural and artistic heritage, morally and ethically conscious, able to live a meaningful life, and able to render services to his fellow man, his society and the nation.

Institutions of higher education may be organized in the form of colleges, universities or institutions of specialized studies, or as a kind of open university where various other means of instruction could be introduced without requiring students actually to attend classes.

*Teacher education* aims at producing teachers who will be able to motivate students to seek knowledge and to discover the manysidedness of their own potentialities and aptitudes. Teachers shall be trained to be morally respectful individuals with tolerance and understanding towards their students. Their personalities and character should be in harmony with Thai culture and in accordance with a constitutional monarchy.

Teacher training institutions shall be organized at the tertiary level. However, if necessity arises, teacher training institutions can be organized at the level lower than that of higher education in order to meet the demands of each locality.

*Vocational education* aims at meeting manpower requirement of various categories according to the local and national needs.

At the primary level, vocational education should instill a love for work. The training should be basic vocational work which will enable learners to apply the necessary skills and knowledge acquired at school to their everyday living.

At the secondary level, vocational education shall aim at giving the learner sufficient occupational training and experience as well as skills, or the capacity to improve himself further according to his own aptitudes and interests. Vocational and academic subjects shall be integrated at the secondary level. Also there can be separate schools or centres emphasizing training for skilled and semi-skilled manpower.

At the tertiary level, vocational education shall aim at giving highly specialized training for specific occupations consistent with developments in the labour market. This type of education can be organized in colleges or institutions of technology, or universities, as appropriate.

> *Non-formal education* is organized outside of the regular school system. It can be set up for specific purposes or it can be part of the other educational programmes, the objectives of which are to develop people's ability in problem-solving, or to provide certain occupational skills or to give specific knowledge or information according to the needs and interests of the people.

It can be concluded from the historical overview that disparities in educational development have existed in Thai society for a long period of time. The *first point* to be mentioned is that the school or education system at the very beginning was organised with the intent of training students to enter government service. This educational system has a very strong centre-periphery pattern. Many famous schools and universities are in the capital, Bangkok.

Climbing up the ladder of success through the education system may be long and difficult: after finishing grade 4 in a remote rural school, in order to study in Grade 5, the child has to move to another school which is probably located in a larger village. After completing Grade 7 in the village school, he has to move again to enter Grade 8 in a district school, mostly located in a town or small city. After finishing Grade 10 or 12 he has to move once more to study in a school or university in a big city or in Bangkok. Such centralisation and hierarchisation of the educational system has prevented poor children from continuing their studies.

The structural complexity of the school system, for instance the five types of primary school under the control of various organisations, is the *second issue* of inequality in educational development. *Demonstration schools* which are attached to teacher-training colleges and university schools of education serve mostly children of faculty members and rich families. The *experimental schools* run by the Ministry of Education serve mostly children from well-to-do families in urban areas, while the municipal schools are attended by children of poor families in urban areas. *Private schools* which are located in urban areas serve both rich and poor children. Some famous private schools serve the rich while other private schools serve the poor. Finally, the *provincial schools* serve all children in the rural areas. Educational practices in these schools are very different, according to their resources and administration.

The *third point* to be mentioned is that education in Thailand has mainly given emphasis to the selection function. The first written examination was conducted in 1879 and examinations have taken place every year since. It is remarkable to note that end-of-year examinations fail a great many pupils each year at all grades. The examinations normally test only pupils' memorisation of the text and do not test, for example, their attitudes, interests or oral and practical skills.

# II. Regional disparities in access to education

The concept of the region being rather vague, it is useful to define the region in the Thai context. From a geographical point of view, the country can be divided into four regions, namely the North, the South, the North-east and the Central Region.

The *North* is mountainous with large valleys. The land is very fertile and covered with forest. The inhabitants of this region speak the Northern dialect. Hilltribe people such as the Meo, the Yao, the Lahu and the Karens are minority groups.

The *South* is also mountainous and covered with forest. It has a long rainy season. Here the people speak the Southern dialect. Further south in the border provinces, most people are Moslem and speak Malay.

The *North-east* is a plateau. Water scarcity in the summer is a big problem in this area. People speak the North-eastern dialect, which is similar to the Lao language. In some border provinces, people speak Khmer (Cambodian).

The *Central Plains* including Bangkok is a low-lying area near the sea level. It is by far the richest region in the country. The language spoken is Central Thai, which is also the language of instruction in the schools.

Differences in climate and land fertility in the four regions play of course an important role, for Thailand has been a predominantly agricultural state since ancient times. At present, approximately 80 per cent of the population are in the agricultural sector and live in rural areas. About one-fifth of the land is under rice cultivation. These four geographic regions, each one with its own characteristics, are also used as large units for social and economic *development planning*.

In terms of educational administration, the country is divided into twelve regions. These regions do not however play any role in the organization of *primary education*. As we have mentioned earlier, there are four categories of public school at this level: (a) the experimental schools which depend directly upon the Ministry of Education; (b) the demonstration schools attached to a teacher-training college and which come under the Department of Teacher Training; (c) the municipal schools which are run by the municipalities, often with a subsidy from the provincial authorities; and (d) the rural schools which are the responsibility of the provincial authorities and are financed by the Ministry of the Interior. The rural schools have the largest share of enrolment.

In view of the importance of provincial authorities in the organisation of primary education, and also considering that detailed statistical data exist at this level, we shall take the *province (changwat)* as the unit of analysis. There are 70 provinces,[1] which vary in size and cannot really be considered as homogeneous units. Disparities do exist within the province, particularly between its urban and rural areas. We will deal with this aspect in Chapter III. It is clear, nevertheless, that large disparities exist between the provinces.

Education in Thailand has principally a selection function. Teachers and administrators devote much of their energy to determining which students are to be dropped at each major stage of the education system. As has been mentioned by Bloom:

> The culmination of the public education system has been conceived of as entrance into or completion of a university programme. Thus, of 100 students entering into formal education, something in the order of 5 per cent were regarded as fitted by nature or nurture for the rigours of higher education. Little interest was felt by educators in the 95 per cent to be dropped at the different stages of the education system.[2]

The selection function of education and the importance given to the examination process strongly influence teaching; and end-of-year examinations in every grade, with their emphasis on book-learning, fail a large percentage of pupils each year.

The rates of access to the various levels of education can therefore be considered as good indicators of the degree of educational development in the various provinces. Disparities in access can be measured at five important stages of the educational ladder:

- access to lower primary or access to Grade 1;
- access to upper primary or access to Grade 5;
- access to lower secondary or access to Grade 8;
- access to upper secondary or access to Grade 11;
- access to higher education.

---

1. These 70 provinces *(changwat)* are further into 509 districts *(amphoe)*, 5036 counties *(tambon)* and 44.606 villages *(moobans)*.
2. Benjamin S. Bloom, J. Thomas Hastings and George F. Madaus, *Handbook on formative and summative evaluation of student learning*, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1971, p. 5.

## A. Access to lower-primary education

Although the official age of admission to lower primary is 7 years in Thailand, one finds both early and late entries. The actual range in the ages of admission is thus rather large. To calculate the exact rate of admission, one has therefore to follow a cohort of children and to see what proportion of this cohort is successively admitted at the age of 5, 6, 7, 8 and so on. The existing data do not allow such a precise computation. For an approximate rate of admission, we have used the enrolment rate of 8-year old children, because this corresponds to the modal age of enrolment in primary education.[1]

In 1960 primary education was far from being universal. For the country as a whole, the enrolment rate of 8-year olds was 49.1 per cent, but for the different provinces it ranged from 16.7 (Mae Hong Song) to 75.6 per cent (Roi Et). During the 1960s, however, enrolment in primary education grew very rapidly and the situation in 1970 was quite different. The average enrolment rate increased to a very large extent and reached 90.5 per cent, and at the same time the range was reduced: 41.8 per cent in Mae Hong Song and 95.9 per cent in Roi Et. This remarkable improvement in access to primary education is shown in figure 4, which gives for each province the enrolment rate in 1960 and in 1970; the provinces are classified according to their rank in 1960. As can be seen from the chart, the rate has increased in every province, although the rank of the various provinces has not changed significantly; those who were ranked high in 1960 continue to be so in 1970 and *vice versa*. (The rank correlation between enrolment rates in 1960 and 1970 is .736). It is to be noted that the increase in the rate is larger for the provinces who rank low than for those who rank high. In other words, disparities between the provinces have been greatly reduced. While in 1960 only *one* province had an enrolment rate of more than 75 per cent, in 1970 all the provinces had reached that level with only four exceptions (Mae Hong Song, Narathivat, Pattani and Yala). This shows the considerable progress made in the expansion of lower primary education.

The geographical pattern of the improvement in access to lower primary education is further illustrated in Maps 1 and 2. To allow comparison, we have regrouped the provinces according to the same scale for 1960 and 1970:

- More than 93 per cent;
- From 85 to 93 per cent;
- From 60 to 85 per cent;
- From 40 to 60 per cent;
- Less than 40 per cent.

In 1960 the large majority of the provinces belonged to the lowest two categories, i.e. with an enrolment rate of less than 60 per cent. The situation was particularly bad in the Northern region and in the far South provinces bordering Malaysia.

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[1] The enrolment rate of 8-year-old children may be smaller than the admission rate. It does not include the children who, though admitted to school, drop out before the age of 8. Nor does it include children admitted after the age of 8.

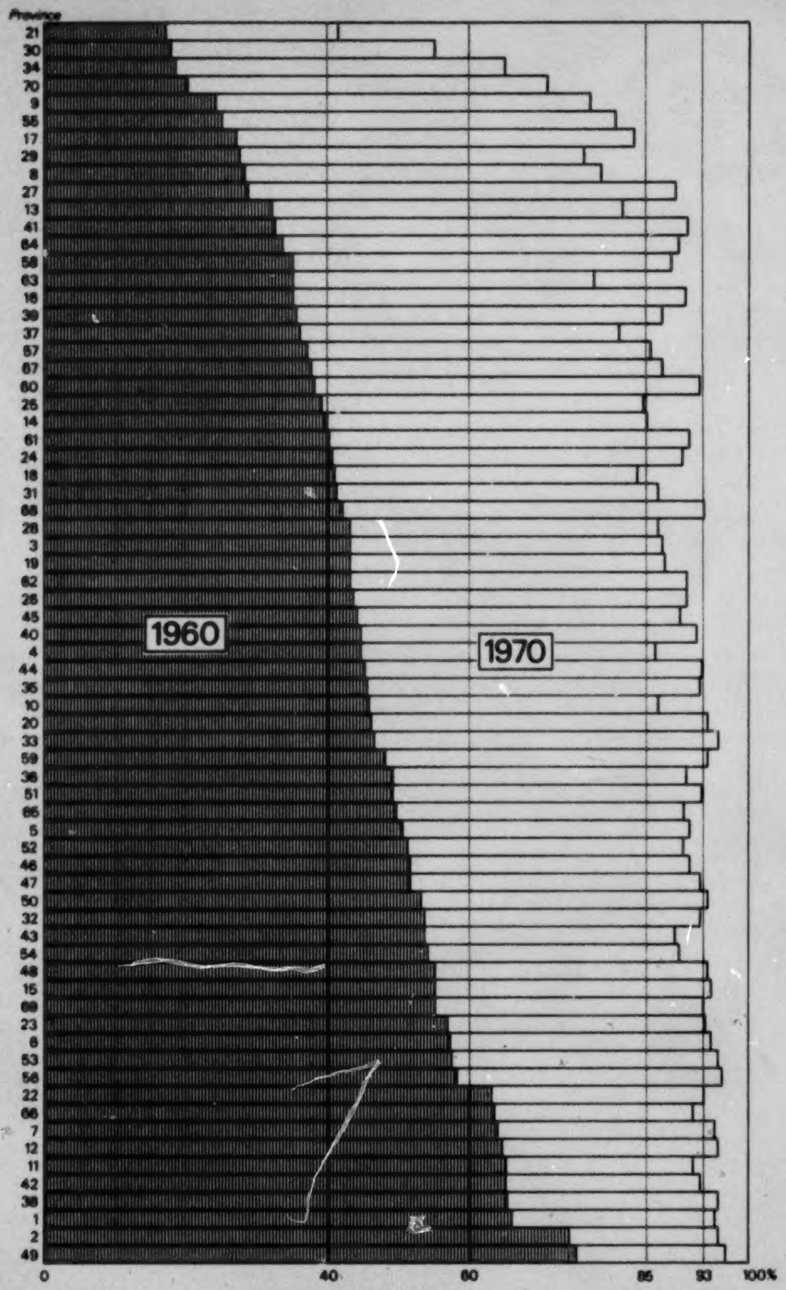

FIGURE 4. *Access to lower primary education in 1970 as compared to 1960.*

The situation was also rather bad in the North-West with the exception of three provinces (Roi Et, Kalasin and Ubon Ratchathani), which surprisingly enough had an enrolment rate of more than 60 per cent. Of course, Bangkok and the surrounding provinces have also a relatively high enrolment rate.

In 1970 the improvement is quite evident. Only two provinces have an enrolment rate of less than 60 per cent, and they are at the two extremities of the country (Mae Hong Song in the North and Narathiwat in the South). Generally speaking, however, the pattern of disparities has not changed and in spite of the increase in the enrolment rate, the provinces in the North tend to lag behind. The situation in the North-east is comparatively better except for the provinces on the Laos border. It is to be noted, however that if the rate of access to lower primary is relatively high in the North-east, this region has the lowest transition rate from lower to upper primary, as se shall see in the next section. As a result, access to upper primary is as restricted as in the North. Naturally, Bangkok and the surrounding provinces of the central plain continue to have the highest rate (more than 93 per cent).

Since 1970 the situation has further improved, and it can be said that total admission has now been achieved. In other words, disparities in access to lower primary no longer exist, with the exception of a few provinces.

The retention rate between Grade 1 and Grade 4, in other words the retention rate in lower primary, is relatively high. For the cohort entering school in 1972, the average for the whole country is 76.7 per cent. It reaches 98.0 per cent, however, in Bangkok and Non Thaburi, but falls to 51.4 per cent in Yala.[1] There

---

*Key to provinces in chart on facing page*

1. Ang Thong
2. Ayutthaya
3. Buri Ram
4. Chachoengsao
5. Chai Nat
6. Chaiyaphum
7. Chanthaburi
8. Chiang Mai
9. Chiang Rai
10. Chon Buri
11. Chumphon
12. Kalasin
13. Kamphaeng Phet
14. Kanchanaburi
15. Khon Kaen
16. Krabi
17. Lampang
18. Lamphun
19. Loei
20. Lop Buri
21. Mae Hong Son
22. Maha Sarakham
23. Nakhon Nayok
24. Nakhon Pahom
25. Nakhon Phanom
26. Nakhon Ratchasima
27. Nakhon Sawan
28. Nakhon Si Thammarat
29. Nan
30. Narathiwat
31. Nong Khai
32. Nonthaburi
33. Pathum Thani
34. Pattani
35. Phagnga
36. Phatthalung
37. Phetchabun
38. Phetcharburi
39. Phichit
40. Phitsanulok
41. Phrae
42. Phra Nakon (Bangkok)
43. Phuket
44. Prachin Buri
45. Prachuap Khiri Khan
46. Ranong
47. Ratchaburi
48. Rayong
49. Roi Et
50. Sakon Nakhon
51. Samut Prakan
52. Samut Sakhon
53. Samut Songkhram
54. Saraburi
55. Satun
56. Sing Buri
57. Si Sa Ket
58. Songkhla
59. Sukhothai
60. Suphan Buri
61. Surat Thani
62. Surin
63. Tak
64. Trang
65. Trat
66. Ubon
67. Udon Thani
68. Uthai Thani
69. Utteradit
70. Yala

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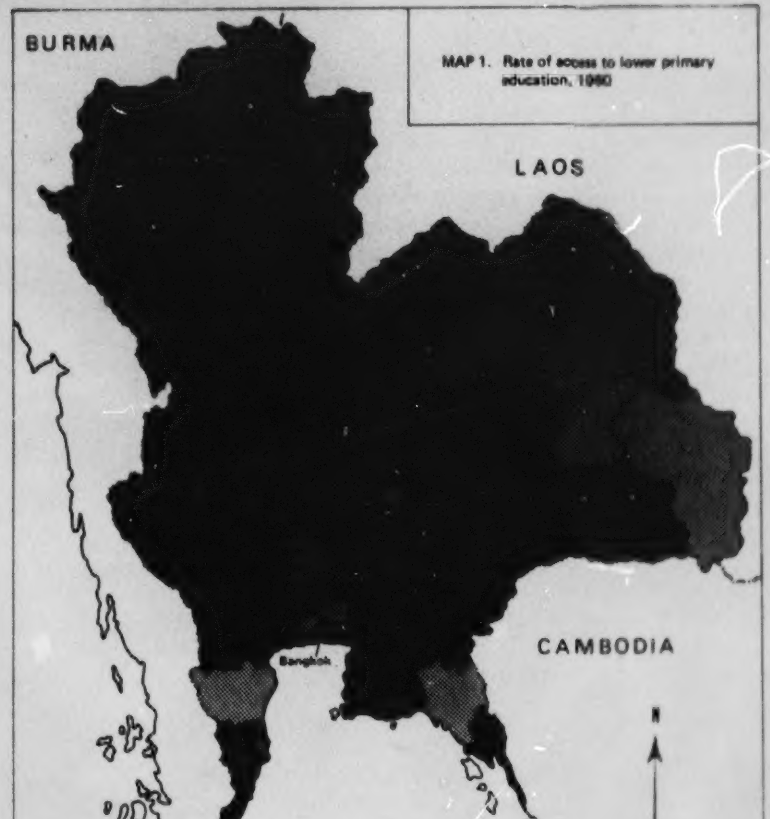
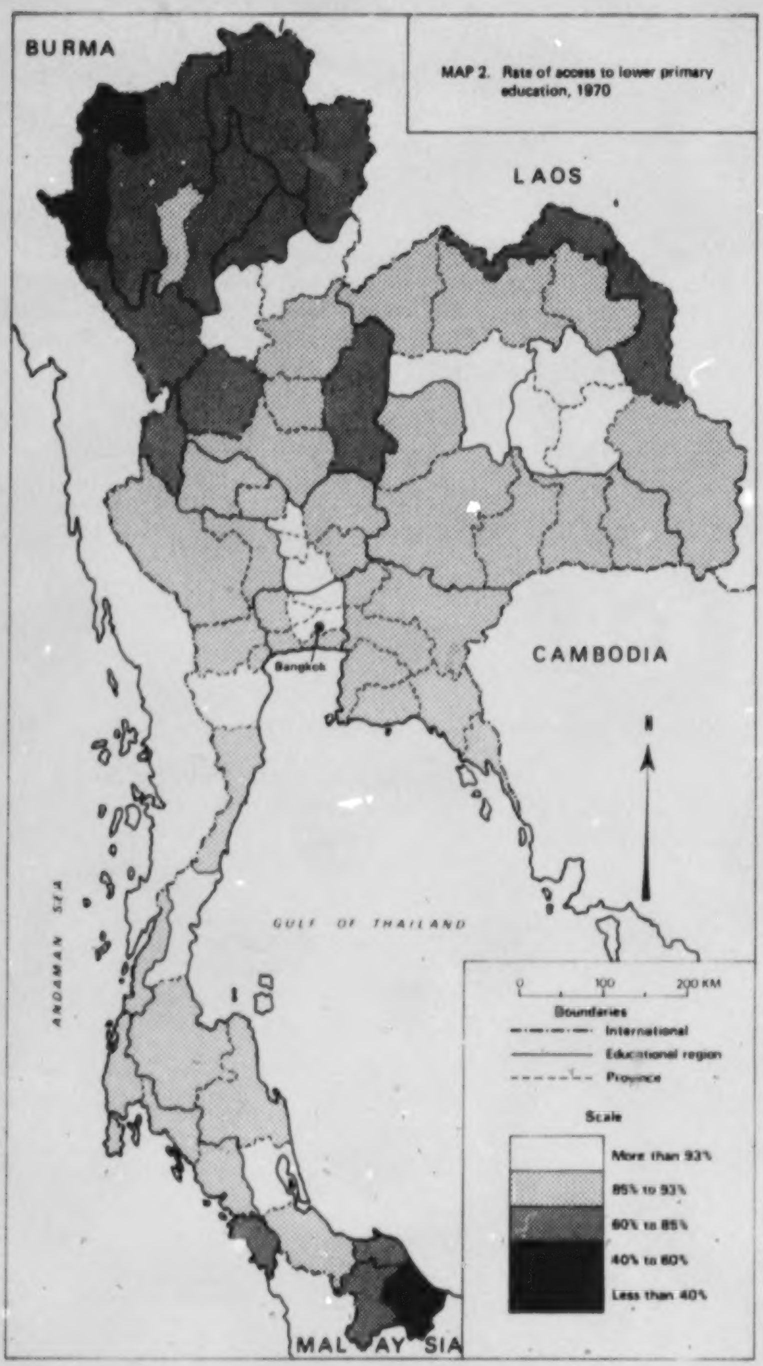
[1] The standard deviation is 11.9 and the coefficient of variation $\frac{\sigma}{\bar{x}}$ = .155



MAP 1. Rate of access to lower primary education, 1960

BURMA
LAOS
CAMBODIA
Bangkok
GULF OF THAILAND
ANDAMAN SEA
MALAYSIA
N
0
100
200 KM
Boundaries
International
Educational region
Province
Scale
More than 93%
85% to 93%
60% to 85%
40% to 60%
Less than 40%



MAP 2. Rate of access to lower primary education, 1970

BURMA
LAOS
CAMBODIA
Bangkok
GULF OF THAILAND
ANDAMAN SEA
MALAYSIA
N
0
100
200 KM
Boundaries
International
Educational region
Province
Scale
More than 93%
85% to 93%
60% to 85%
40% to 60%
Less than 40%

are therefore significant differences in the retention rates of the various provinces.

However, retention in the system is only one aspect of the problem. In reality, for the same grade, achievement scores vary to a very large extent over the different regions of the country. Two studies undertaken recently illustrate this very clearly.

The first one, carried out by the Elementary Education Division of the General Education Department, within the framework of a project on curriculum research, aimed to study the efficiency of primary education in the *first grade*. The results demonstrated that there were significant differences in basic skills between the four regions, as presented in Table 1.[2]

TABLE 1. Mean scores of Grade 1 pupils in four regions.

| | Thai language[1] | | Arithmetic[2] | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Mean | SD | Mean | SD |
| Central | 57.69 | 16.58 | 29.19 | 6.84 |
| South | 44.64 | 17.37 | 23.74 | 7.48 |
| North | 44.39 | 15.15 | 21.92 | 7.03 |
| North-east | 27.01 | 10.17 | 15.44 | 6.09 |

1. Full score is 100.
2. Full score is 40.

The second study, undertaken by the Office of the National Education Commission, Office of the Prime Minister in 1974, found the same striking differences in regional scores for both Thai and Arithmetic (Table 2).

TABLE 2. Mean scores of Grade 3 pupils in Bangkok and the four regions.[1]

| | Thai language | | Arithmetic | | Number of pupils |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Mean | SD | Mean | SD | |
| Bangkok | 51.3 | 16.6 | 51.0 | 17.5 | 4 398 |
| Central | 33.6 | 12.8 | 33.4 | 15.1 | 5 627 |
| South | 31.2 | 11.2 | 34.2 | 14.0 | 3 991 |
| North | 29.0 | 10.7 | 30.3 | 13.2 | 2 126 |
| North-east | 26.0 | 10.1 | 25.0 | 12.5 | 9 755 |

1. Scores presented are percentage means. The maximum score is 100. All differences between means are statistically significant ($p < .05$).
2. The scores for the North-east are near the chance level (20 per cent); that is the level a pupil might achieve by random guessing.

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[2] Elementary Education Division, Department of General Education, *The achievement of first graders as compared to elementary curriculum*, Bangkok, Kurusabha Press, December 1968, p. 97.

In view of these large differences in the achievement scores, the fact that a child has completed lower-primary school does not mean exactly the same thing in each region or province. In all events, to gain access to upper-primary education, the child has to pass a selective examination.

## B. Transition from lower- to upper-primary education

Access to upper-primary education used to be very selective and the transition rate between Grade 4 and Grade 5 was very low. In 1966/67, the first year that information was given separately for each *changwad,* the national average transition rate was 35.2 per cent. The range went, however, from 13 per cent in Burinam and Udon Thani to 82 per cent in Bangkok.

In the same way as access to lower primary has increased, so has the transition rate from lower to upper primary risen rapidly in recent years. In 1975/76 the national average was 56.9 per cent, with a range from 30 per cent in Udon Thani to 99.8 per cent in Samut Songkram.[1]

This improvement in the transition rate is shown in figure 5, which compares for each province the transition rate in 1968 (measured along the vertical axis) and in 1976 (measured along the horizontal axis). Obviously, a province with the same transition rate in 1976 as in 1968 would be represented by a point located on the diagonal. On the graph it can be seen that all the points are below the diagonal. In other words, the transition rate has increased in all the provinces.

We have also drawn on the graph a straight line representing the slope corresponding to the increase in the national *mean* from 1968 to 1976. If in a given province the transition rate has increased *at the same rate* as that of the national mean, it would be represented by a point situated on that straight line. From the distribution of the points, it can be seen that in the provinces with low transition rates in 1968, the increase has tended to be more rapid than that of the national average. On the contrary, for those ranking high in 1968 the increase has tended to be less. To a certain extent the disparity between the various regions has thus been reduced, although still sizeable. In fact, as we will see later, the transition from Grade 4 to Grade 5 constitutes at the present time one of the most important steps in the selection process.

The geographical pattern of the improvement in the transition rate from Grade 4 to Grade 5 is illustrated in Maps 3 and 4. To facilitate comparison, we have used the same scale to cluster the provinces:

- 75 per cent and above;
- From 55 to 74 per cent;
- From 40 to 54 per cent;
- From 25 to 39 per cent;
- Less than 25 per cent.

In 1968, we can observe a strong centre-periphery pattern. Only Bangkok has a transition rate higher than 75 per cent. Two other provinces, Phuket, a rich island in the south, and Samut Songkhram, a province close to Bangkok on the Gulf of Thailand, have transition rates over 55 per cent.[1] All the other provinces[2] are below this level. The situation is particularly bad in the North-east, where all provinces have a very low rate (less than 25 per cent). The situation in the North is also poor, although a few provinces have rates above 25 per cent.

---

[1] The standard deviation is 16.3 and the coefficient of variation $\frac{\sigma}{\bar{x}}$ = .286.

[2] These two provinces were selected for the Project of Compulsory Education Expansion and have largely benefited from it.

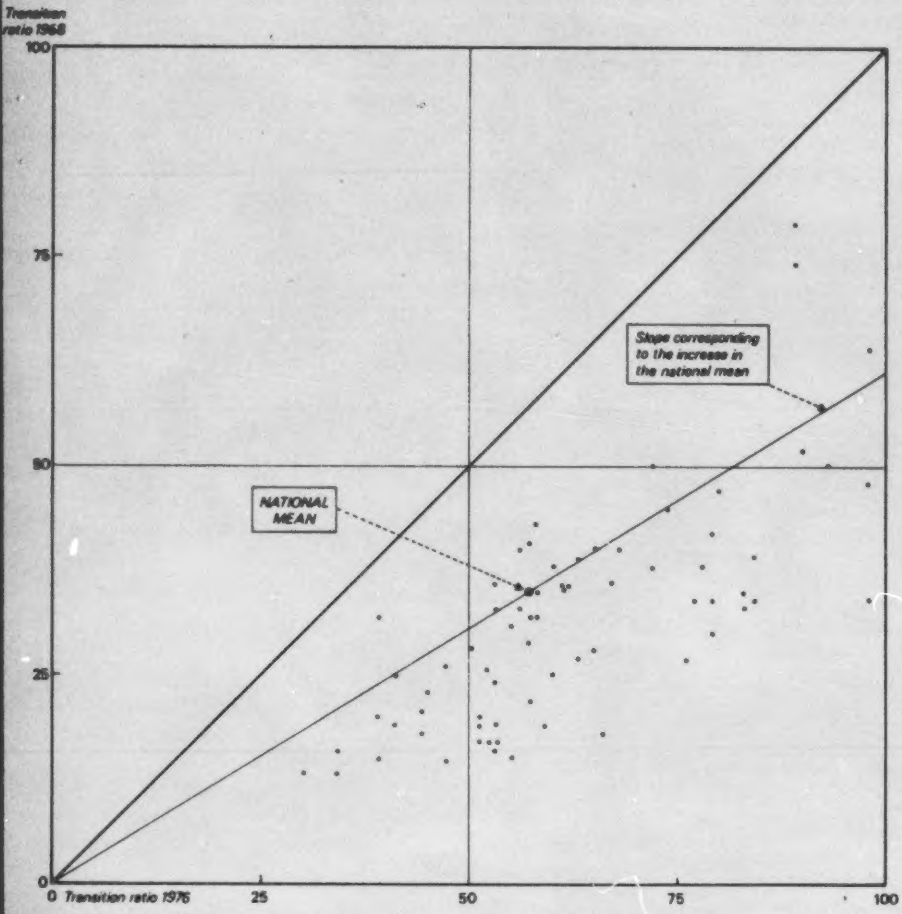
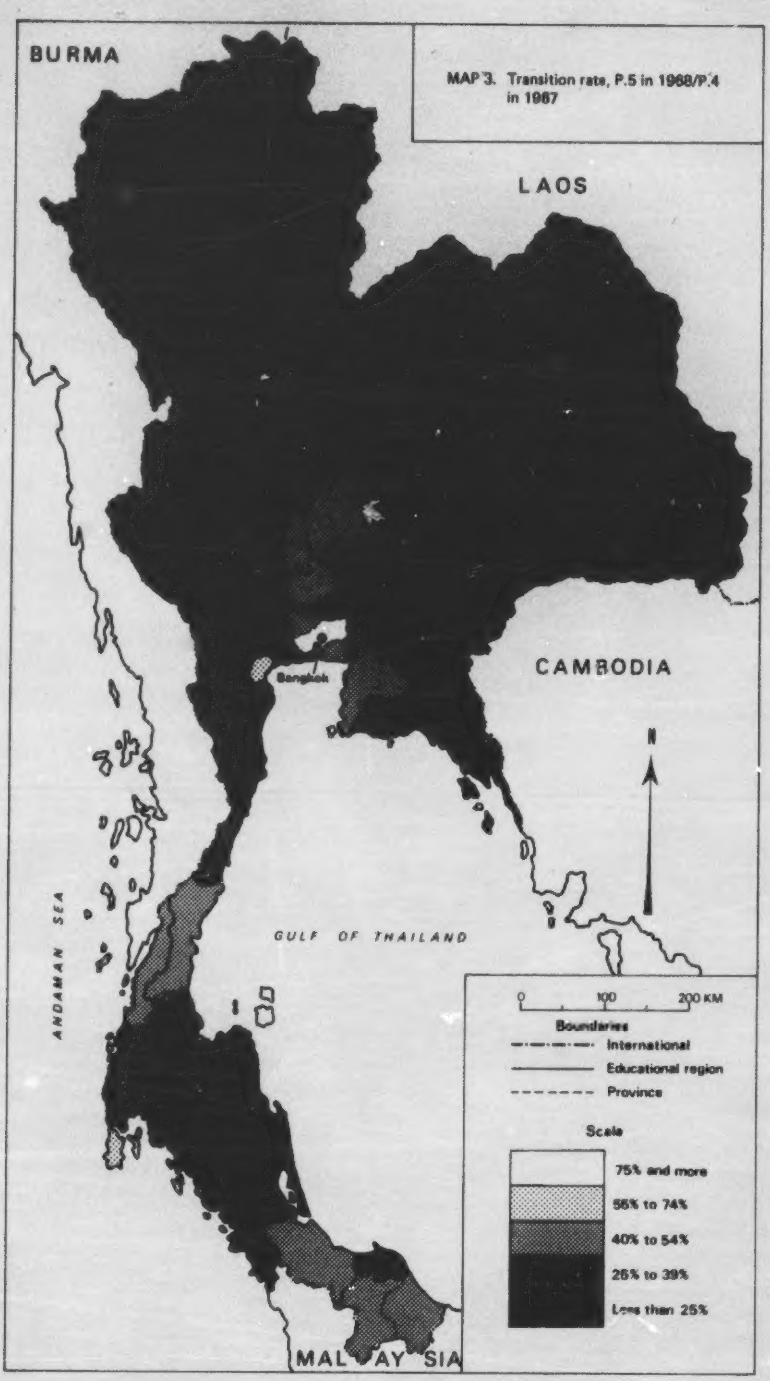


FIGURE 5. *Change in the transition ratio from lower to upper primary from 1968 to 1976.*

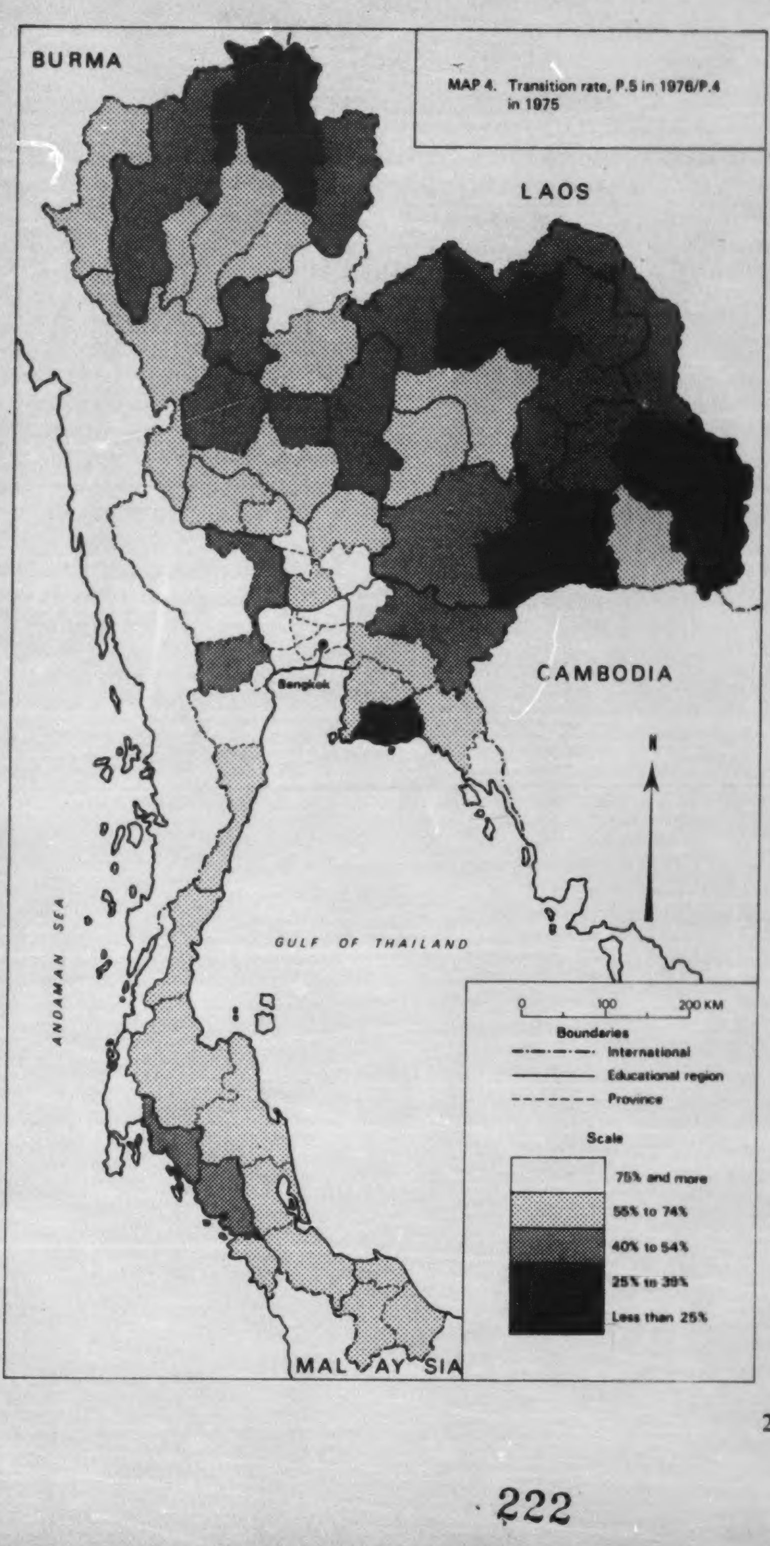
It is interesting to contrast Map 1 and Map 3 in order to compare the relative situation of the North and the North-east. In the North, the access rate to lower primary is very poor, but the transition rate from Grade 4 to Grade 5 is slightly better, whereas in the North-east it is the access rate which is better and the transition rate from Grade 4 to Grade 5 which is poor. In both cases however, the end result is the same, i.e. a rather low access rate to upper-primary school.

In the South, the situation is more diverse, the transition rates varying greatly from one province to another.

Although the situation has much improved from 1968 to 1976, it can be seen from Map 4 that the pattern has not changed much. Bangkok and the neighbouring provinces continue to rank high, while the North and the North-east lag behind; this is particularly true of the frontier provinces.


MAP 3. Transition rate, P.5 in 1968/P.4 in 1967

BURMA
LAOS
CAMBODIA
Bangkok
N
GULF OF THAILAND
ANDAMAN SEA
MALAYSIA
0 100 200 KM
Boundaries
International
Educational region
Province
Scale
75% and more
55% to 74%
40% to 54%
25% to 39%
Less than 25%



MAP 4. Transition rate, P.5 in 1976/P.4 in 1975

BURMA
LAOS
CAMBODIA
Bangkok
N
ANDAMAN SEA
GULF OF THAILAND
MALAYSIA
0
100
200 KM
Boundaries
International
Educational region
Province
Scale
75% and more
55% to 74%
40% to 54%
25% to 39%
Less than 25%

## C. Access to upper-primary education

As we have noted, access to upper primary is a result of the combined effect of admission to lower primary, retention in lower primary and transition from lower- to upper-primary education. Access to upper-primary school is measured by the rate:

$$\frac{\text{New entrants to Grade 5}}{\text{11-year old population}} \times 100$$

In 1976 the access rate to upper-primary education for the country as a whole was 51.3 per cent, whereas, as we have already seen, access to lower primary can be considered as being virtually universal. Access to upper-primary education is thus the first important step in the selection process of the Thai educational system. This can be explained by the fact that until 1966 compulsory education in Thailand was limited to the first four grades of lower primary. Since then, the policy has been to extend compulsory education gradually to cover the seven grades of primary school.

Disparity in access to upper primary is considerable, since the access rate ranges from 28.0 per cent in Udon Thani to 93.2 per cent in Samut Songkhram.[1] To illustrate the degree of disparity we have indicated on Figure 6 the position of each province with relation to the national mean. As can be seen, whereas the access rate in Samut Songkhram is nearly double the national mean, that of Udon Thani is approximately half the mean.

---

*Key to provinces in chart on facing page*

1. Ang Thong
2. Ayutthaya
3. Buri Ram
4. Chachoengsao
5. Chai Nat
6. Chaiyaphum
7. Chanthaburi
8. Chiang Mai
9. Chiang Rai
10. Chon Buri
11. Chumphon
12. Kalasin
13. Kamphaeng Phet
14. Kanchanaburi
15. Khon Kaen
16. Krabi
17. Lampang
18. Lamphun
19. Loei
20. Lop Buri
21. Mae Hong Son
22. Maha Sarakham
23. Nakhon Nayok
24. Nakhon Pahom
25. Nakhon Phanom
26. Nakhon Ratchasima
27. Nakhon Sawan
28. Nakhon Si Thammarat
29. Nan
30. Narathiwat
31. Nong Khai
32. Nonthaburi
33. Pathum Thani
34. Pattani
35. Phagnga
36. Phatthalung
37. Phetchabun
38. Phetcharburi
39. Phichit
40. Phitsanulok
41. Phrae
42. Phra Nakon (Bangkok)
43. Phuket
44. Prachin Buri
45. Prachuap Khiri Khan
46. Ranong
47. Ratchaburi
48. Rayong
49. Roi Et
50. Sakon Nakhon
51. Samut Prakan
52. Samut Sakhon
53. Samut Songkhram
54. Saraburi
55. Satun
56. Sing Buri
57. Si Sa Ket
58. Songkhla
59. Sukhothai
60. Suphan Buri
61. Surat Thani
62. Surin
63. Tak
64. Trang
65. Trat
66. Ubon
67. Udon Thani
68. Uthai Thani
69. Utteradit
70. Yala

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[1] This corresponds to a weighted standard deviation of 15.473 and a coefficient of variation $\frac{\sigma}{\bar{x}} = .301$.

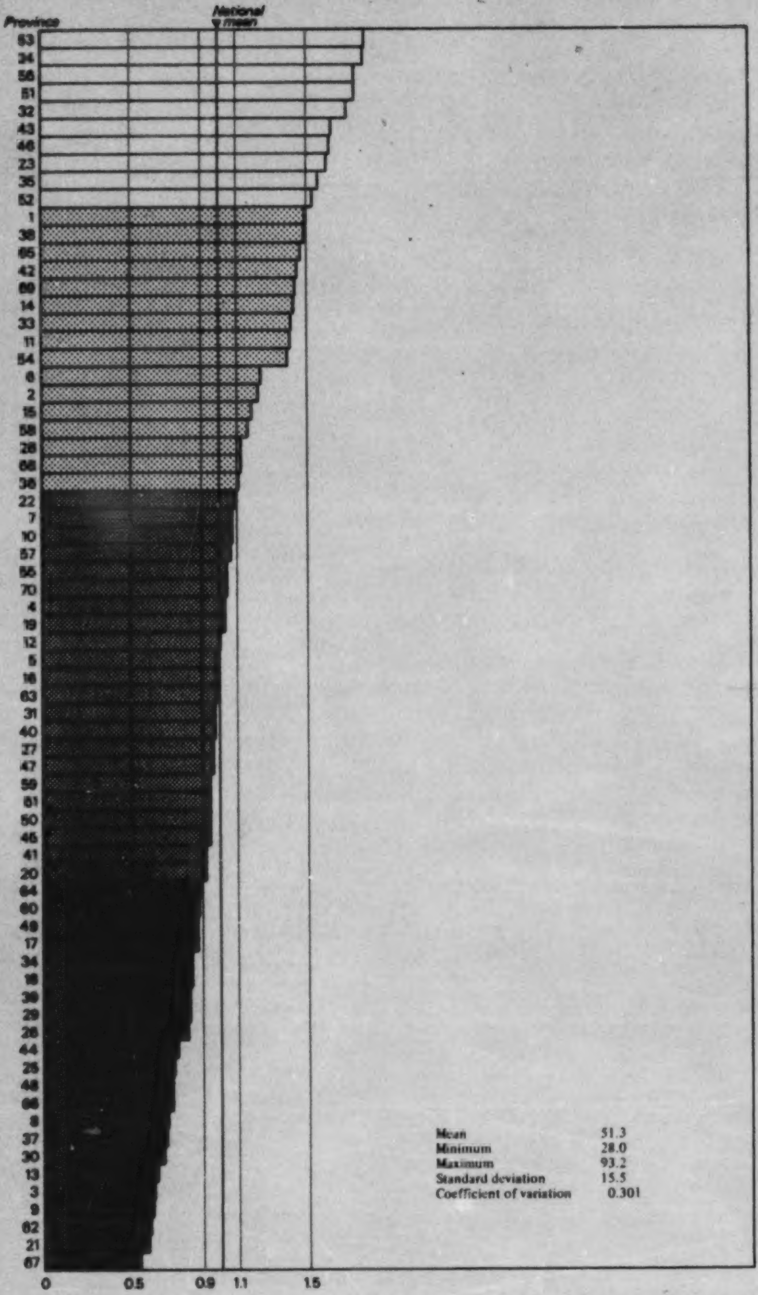
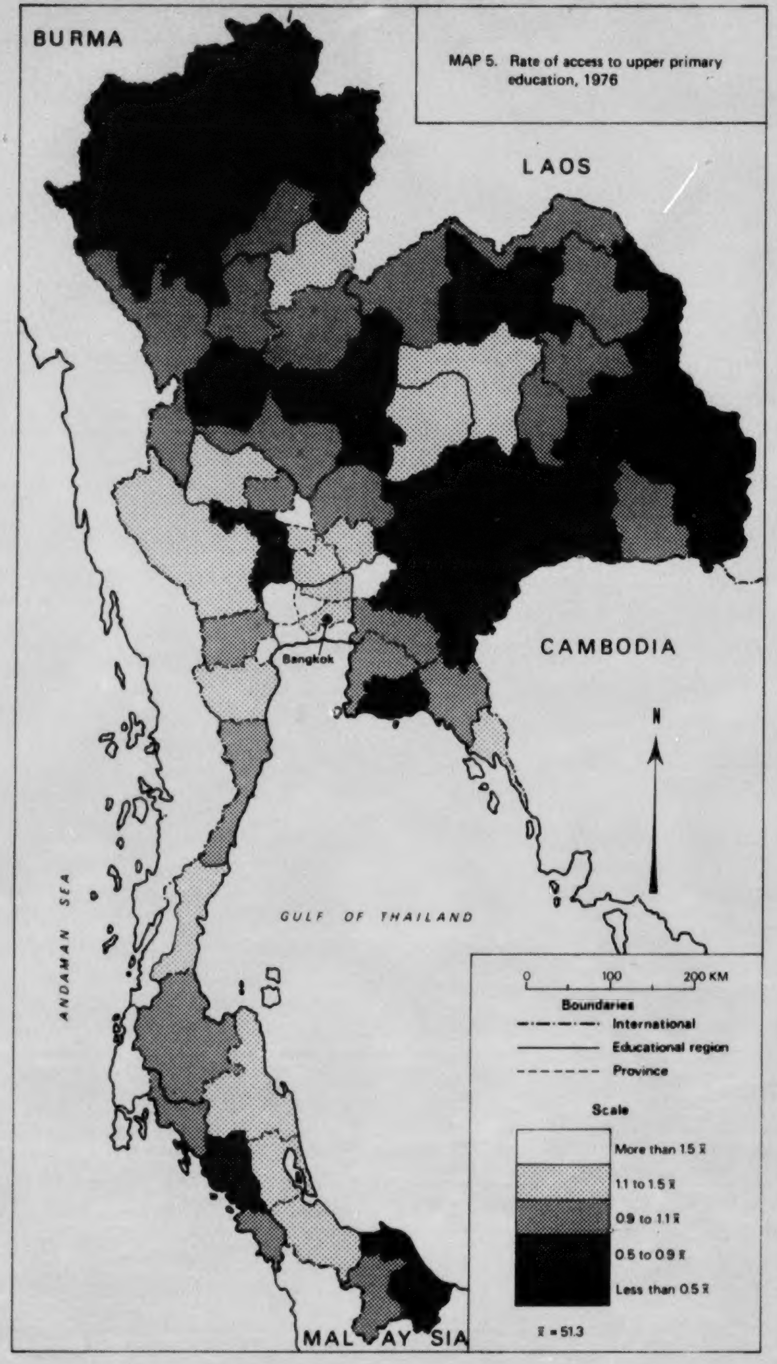


FIGURE 6. *Rate of access to upper primary education, 1976.*



MAP 5. Rate of access to upper primary education, 1976

BURMA
LAOS
CAMBODIA
Bangkok
N
GULF OF THAILAND
ANDAMAN SEA
MALAYSIA
0
100
200 KM
Boundaries
International
Educational region
Province
Scale
More than 1.5 x̄
1.1 to 1.5 x̄
0.9 to 1.1 x̄
0.5 to 0.9 x̄
Less than 0.5 x̄
x̄ = 51.3

The position in relation to the mean is also used in Map 5 for clustering the provinces into categories:

- Very high : More than 1.5 $\bar{x}$
- High From 1.1 $\bar{x}$ to 1.5 $\bar{x}$
- Medium : From .9 $\bar{x}$ to 1.1 $\bar{x}$
- Low : From .5 $\bar{x}$ to .9 $\bar{x}$
- Very low : Less than .5$\bar{x}$

The geographical pattern of access to upper primary is consistent with what we have already observed, i.e. a strong centre-periphery pattern. That pattern is in fact evident at all levels of education, but, as we will see, the disparities between the centre and the periphery tend to increase the higher we go in the educational system.

## D. Access to lower- and upper-secondary education

The average transition rate between upper-primary and lower-secondary for the country as a whole is 74.2 per cent. This is higher than that between lower- and upper-primary school which, as we have seen, is 56.9 per cent. In other words, the selection process from upper primary to lower secondary is less severe than at the previous step. The degree of selection varies greatly, however, according to the province and accentuates disparities of access to lower-secondary between the various regions.

The rates of access to lower- and to upper-secondary education are measured respectively as:

$$a_l = \frac{\text{New entrants to Grade 8}}{\text{14-year-old population}} \times 100$$

$$a_u = \frac{\text{New entrants to Grade 11}}{\text{17-year-old population}} \times 100$$

The rate of access to lower-secondary education has a national average equal to 27.6 per cent and a range going from 71.6 to 11.7 per cent (Figure 7).

Selection for upper-secondary education is much more severe than for the two previous steps. As a result, the rate of access to upper-secondary is much lower than that of access to lower secondary. Upper-secondary is in fact mainly a preparation for higher education. The average rate of access to upper-secondary

*Key to provinces in chart on facing page*

1. Ang Thong
2. Ayutthaya
3. Buri Ram
4. Chachoengsao
5. Chai Nat
6. Chaiyaphum
7. Chanthaburi
8. Chiang Mai
9. Chiang Rai
10. Chon Buri
11. Chumphon
12. Kalasin
13. Kamphaeng Phet
14. Kanchanaburi
15. Khon Kaen
16. Krabi
17. Lampang
18. Lamphun
19. Loei
20. Lop Buri
21. Mae Hong Son
22. Maha Sarakham
23. Nakhon Nayok
24. Nakhon Pahom
25. Nakhon Phanom
26. Nakhon Ratchasima
27. Nakhon Sawan
28. Nakhon Si Thammarat
29. Nan
30. Narathiwat
31. Nong Khai
32. Nonthaburi
33. Pathum Thani
34. Pattani
35. Phagnga
36. Phatthalung
37. Phetchabun
38. Phetcharburi
39. Phichit
40. Phitsanulok
41. Phrae
42. Phra Nakon (Bangkok)
43. Phuket
44. Prachin Buri
45. Prachuap Khiri Khan
46. Ranong
47. Ratchaburi
48. Rayong
49. Roi Et
50. Sakon Nakhon
51. Samut Prakan
52. Samut Sakhon
53. Samut Songkhram
54. Saraburi
55. Satun
56. Sing Buri
57. Si Sa Ket
58. Songkhla
59. Sukhothai
60. Suphan Buri
61. Surat Thani
62. Surin
63. Tak
64. Trang
65. Trat
66. Ubon
67. Udon Thani
68. Uthai Thani
69. Utteradit
70. Yala

---

1. The standard deviation is $\sigma = 11.654$ and the coefficient of variation $\frac{\sigma}{\bar{x}} = 0.423$.

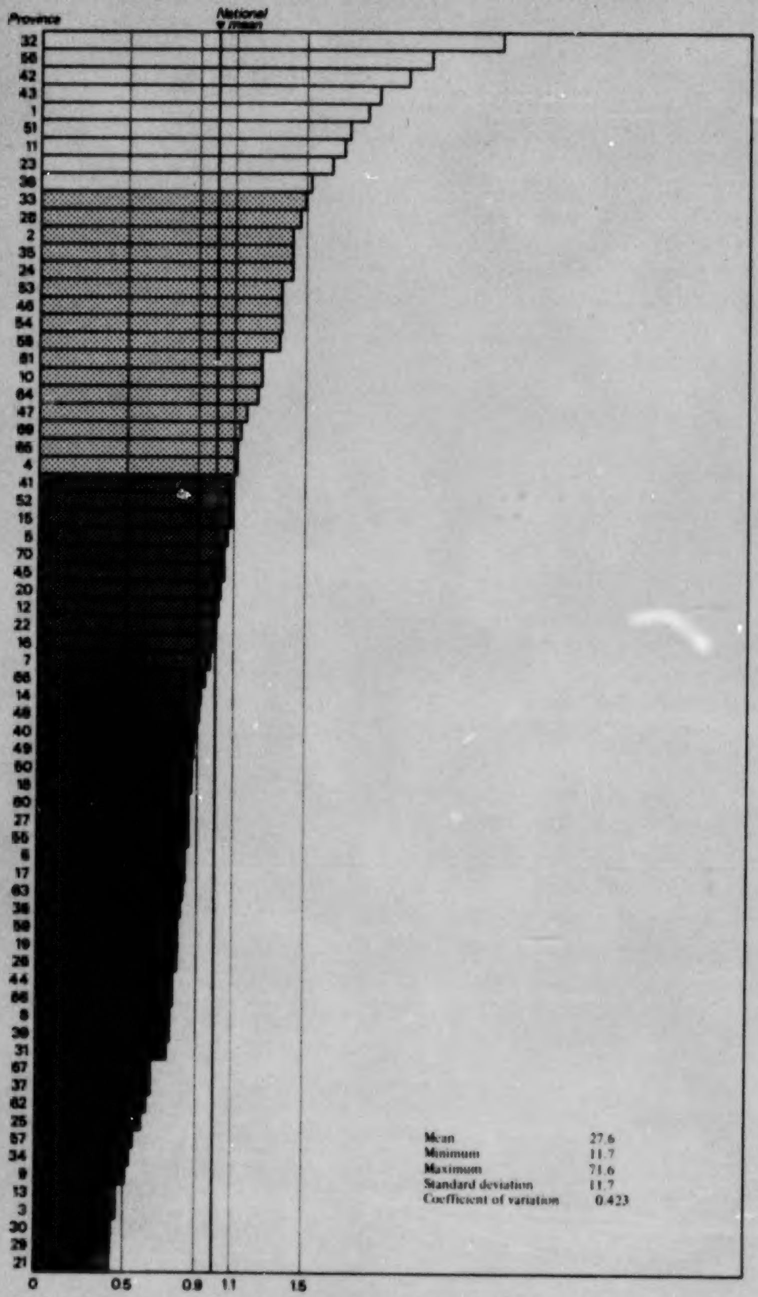


FIGURE 7. *Rate to access to lower-secondary education, 1976.*

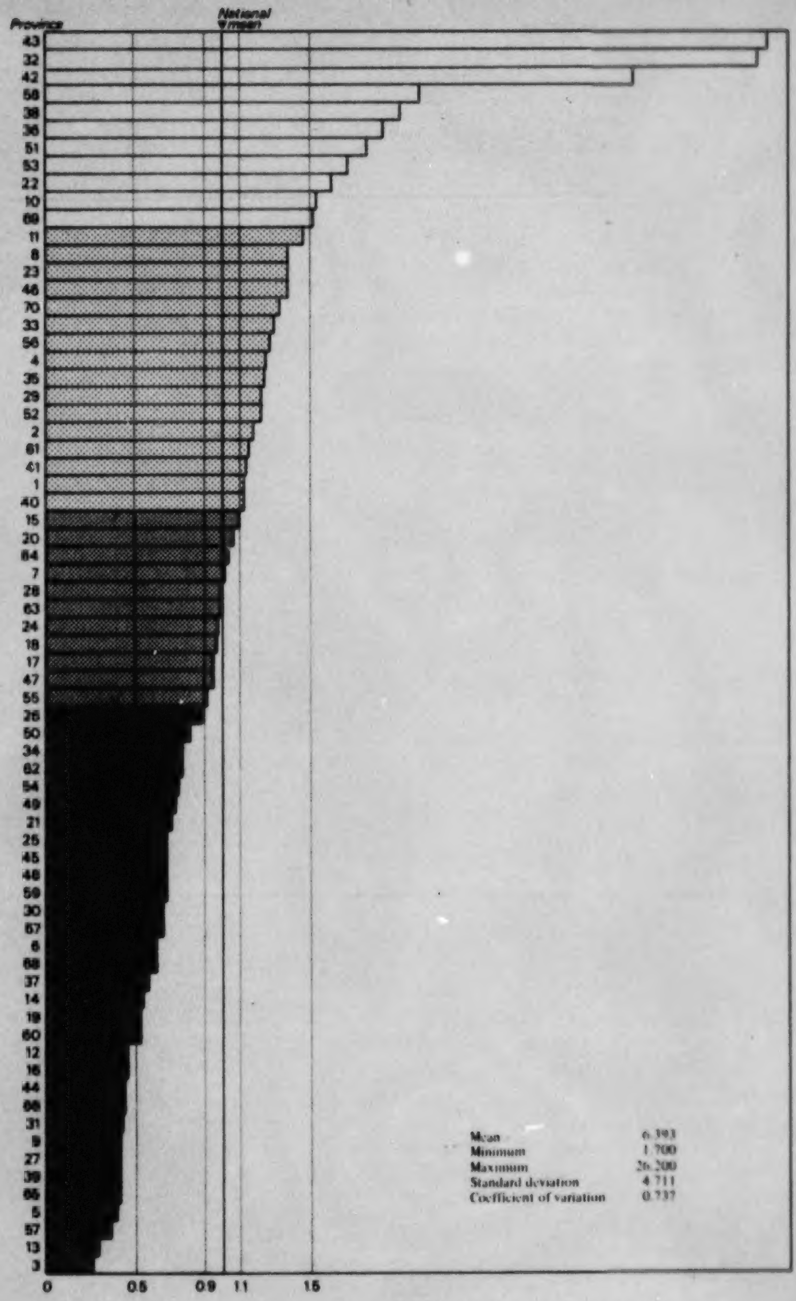


**FIGURE 8.** *Rate to access to upper-secondary education, 1976.*

for the whole country is only 6.4 per cent, with a range going from 1.7 to 26.2 per cent. In other words, the rate of access to upper-secondary in the province ranked highest is 15.4 times larger than that of the province ranked lowest. This illustrates the degree of disparity between the various provinces (see Figure 8).

Going up the ladder of the educational system (lower- to upper-primary, upper-primary to lower-secondary, lower-secondary to upper-secondary), the access rate decreases rapidly and at the same time disparities correspondingly increase. A comparison of Grades III, IV and V shows that the gap between the highest and lowest provinces tends to widen.

In the same way, if we compare Maps 5, 6 and 7 we will observe the now familiar centre-periphery pattern. The situation of the border provinces clearly deteriorates. On comparing the maps, this becomes particularly obvious in the case of the North-east.

Another way of showing this increase in disparities is to examine the dispersion of the access rates at the various levels of education, as in Table 3. As can be clearly seen from this table, disparities between the provinces tend to increase as we progress up the educational system. The coefficient of variation, which is a good measure of dispersion when different levels are compared, increases steadily as we pass from one level to the next.

Skewness, which is negative for lower primary (showing that there is an asymetrical distribution with many provinces having a high access rate), becomes positive at upper-primary level and its value increases, indicating that the distribution becomes progressively asymetrical with fewer and fewer provinces having high access rates.

The correlation between the rates of access to the various educational levels is rather high, as can be seen from the matrix of correlation coefficients in Table 4.

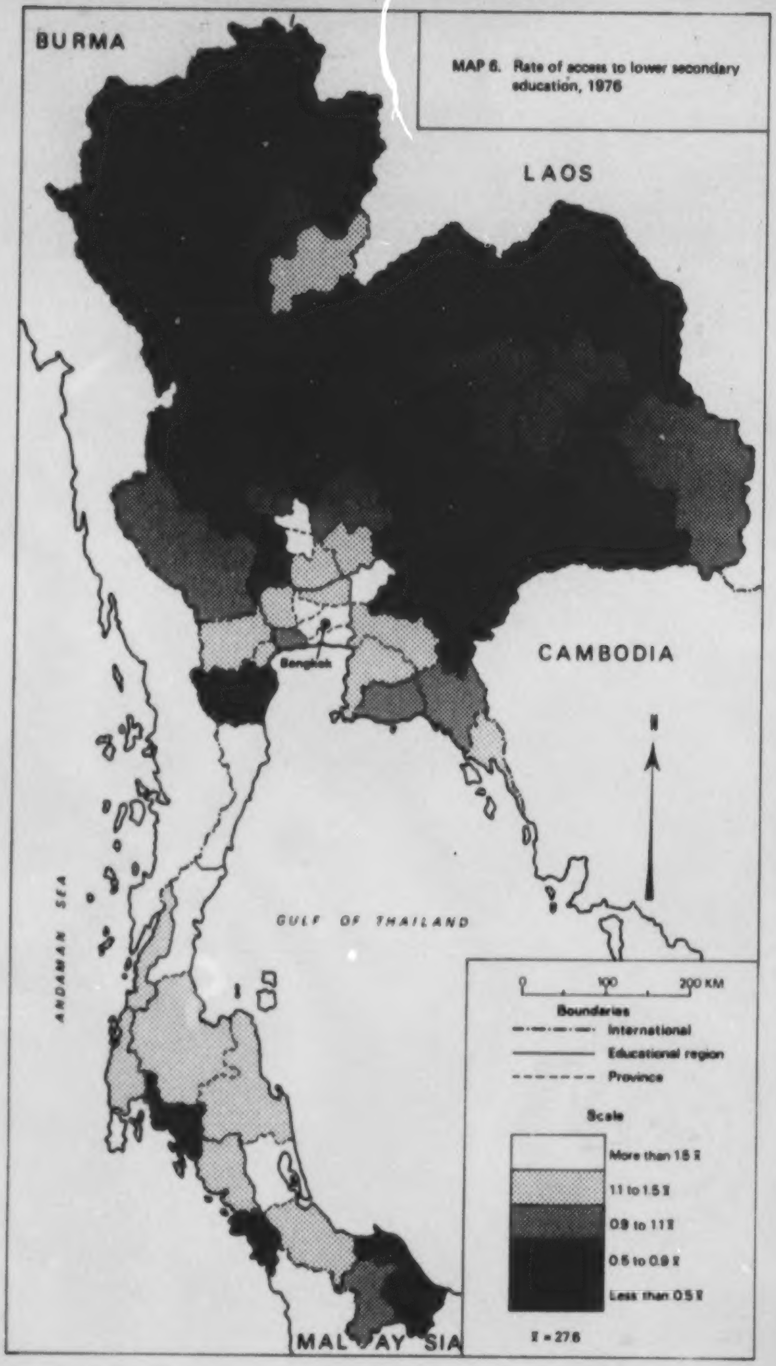
---

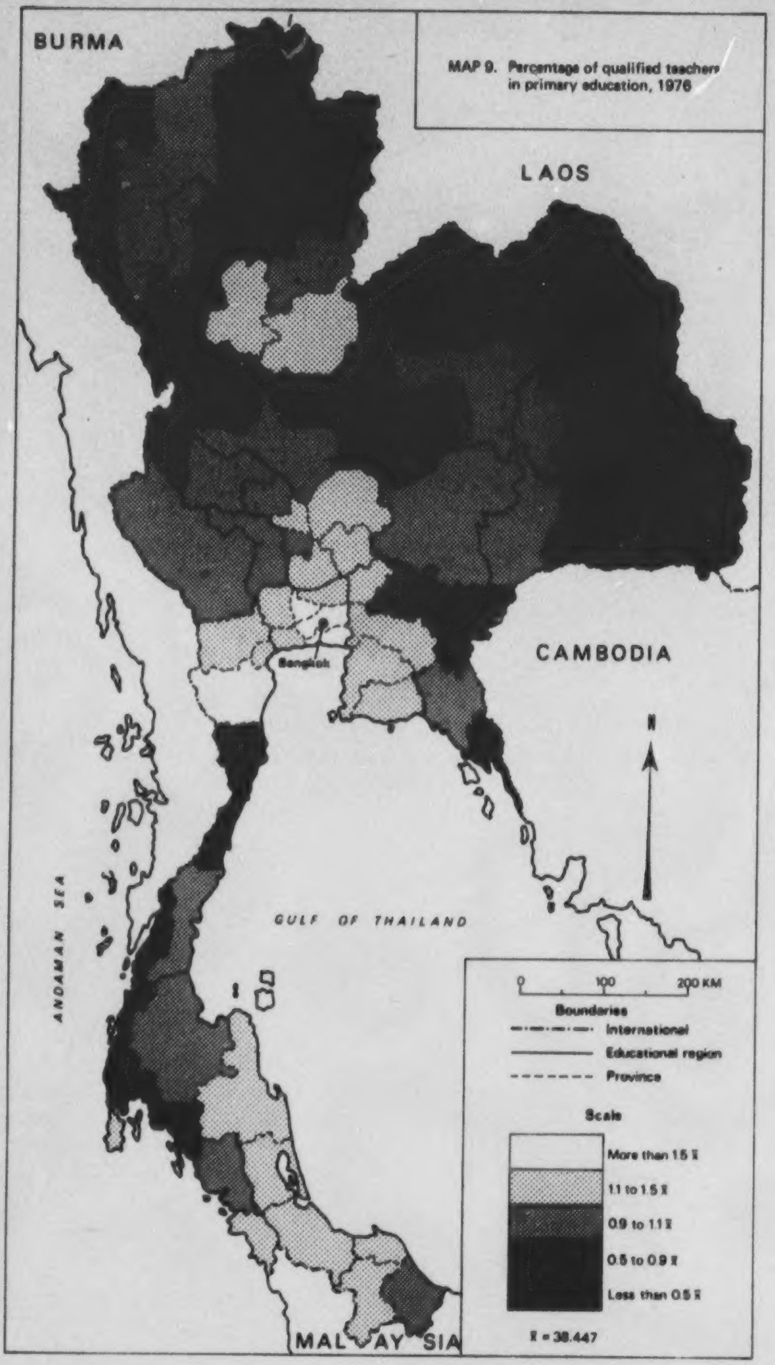
*Key to provinces in chart on facing page*

1. Ang Thong
2. Ayutthaya
3. Buri Ram
4. Chachoengsao
5. Chai Nat
6. Chaiyaphum
7. Chanthaburi
8. Chiang Mai
9. Chiang Rai
10. Chon Buri
11. Chumphon
12. Kalasin
13. Kamphaeng Phet
14. Kanchanaburi
15. Khon Kaen
16. Krabi
17. Lampang
18. Lamphun
19. Loei
20. Lop Buri
21. Mae Hong Son
22. Maha Sarakham
23. Nakhon Nayok
24. Nakhon Pahom
25. Nakhon Phanom
26. Nakhon Ratchasima
27. Nakhon Sawan
28. Nakhon Si Thammarat
29. Nan
30. Narathiwat
31. Nong Khai
32. Nonthaburi
33. Pathum Thani
34. Pattani
35. Phagnga
36. Phatthalung
37. Phetchabun
38. Phetcharburi
39. Phichit
40. Phitsanulok
41. Phrae
42. Phra Nakon (Bangkok)
43. Phuket
44. Prachin Buri
45. Prachuap Khiri Khan
46. Ranong
47. Ratchaburi
48. Rayong
49. Roi Et
50. Sakon Nakhon
51. Samut Prakan
52. Samut Sakhon
53. Samut Songkhram
54. Saraburi
55. Satun
56. Sing Buri
57. Si Sa Ket
58. Songkhla
59. Sukhothai
60. Suphan Buri
61. Surat Thani
62. Surin
63. Tak
64. Trang
65. Trat
66. Ubon
67. Udon Thani
68. Uthai Thani
69. Utteradit
70. Yala

---

MAP 6. Rate of access to lower secondary education, 1976


BURMA
LAOS
CAMBODIA
Bangkok
GULF OF THAILAND
ANDAMAN SEA
MALAYSIA
N
0
100
200 KM
Boundaries
International
Educational region
Province
Scale
More than 1.5 $\bar{x}$
1.1 to 1.5 $\bar{x}$
0.9 to 1.1 $\bar{x}$
0.5 to 0.9 $\bar{x}$
Less than 0.5 $\bar{x}$
$\bar{x}$ = 27.6



MAP 9. Percentage of qualified teachers in primary education, 1976

BURMA
LAOS
CAMBODIA
Bangkok
ANDAMAN SEA
GULF OF THAILAND
MALAYSIA
N
0
100
200 KM
Boundaries
International
Educational region
Province
Scale
More than 1.5 x̄
1.1 to 1.5 x̄
0.9 to 1.1 x̄
0.5 to 0.9 x̄
Less than 0.5 x̄
x̄ = 38.447

TABLE 3. Rates of access to various levels of education.

| | Lower primary | Upper primary | Lower secondary | Upper secondary |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National average $\bar{x}$ | 88.5 | 51.3 | 27.6 | 6.4 |
| Highest province | 85.9 | 93.2 | 71.6 | 26.2 |
| Lowest province | 41.8 | 28.0 | 11.7 | 1.7 |
| Standard deviation $\sigma$ | 7.167 | 15.473 | 11.654 | 4.711 |
| Maximum/minimum | 2.290 | 3.329 | 6.120 | 15.412 |
| Coefficient of variation $\frac{\sigma}{x}$ | .081 | .302 | .433 | .736 |
| Skewness | —2.580 | .729 | 1.262 | 2.175 |

TABLE 4. Coefficients of access and transition.

| | Access to lower primary | Transition from lower to upper primary | Access to upper primary | Access to lower secondary | Access to upper secondary |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Access to lower primary | — | .2110 | .4246[1] | .4674[1] | .2380 |
| Transition from lower to upper primary | .2110 | — | .9457[1] | .8141[1] | .7339[1] |
| Access to upper primary | .4246[1] | .9457[1] | — | .8058[1] | .6574[1] |
| Access to lower secondary | .4674[1] | .8141[1] | .8058[1] | — | .8596[1] |
| Access to upper secondary | .2380 | .7339 | .6574 | .8596 | — |

1. Significant at the .001 level.

The rate of access to lower-primary is weakly correlated with the rates of access to the other levels of education. This may be explained by the fact that lower primary has now become nearly universal, so that the situation is more or less the same in all provinces. The transition rate from lower to upper primary is of course strongly correlated with the rate of access to upper primary, but it is also highly correlated with the access rates to lower and upper secondary. This tends to indicate of course that the selection process really begins at this point of the educational system and that all the provinces where the transition rate between Grade 4 and Grade 5 is high are also the provinces where access to the next stages of education is high.

## E. Access to higher education

As shown in many studies, access to higher education is strongly linked to family background. In Thailand, the probability of access is quite different for the various socio-economic groups. Table 5 gives the distribution of candidates seeking admission to higher education and of those candidates who are successful, according to the socio-economic group of the father.

The proportion of children from the first two categories (proprietors and government officials) is rather high and certainly much greater than the proportion they represent in the total population. Conversely, the proportion of peasant children is very low and one should also add that peasant children have the poorest success rate.

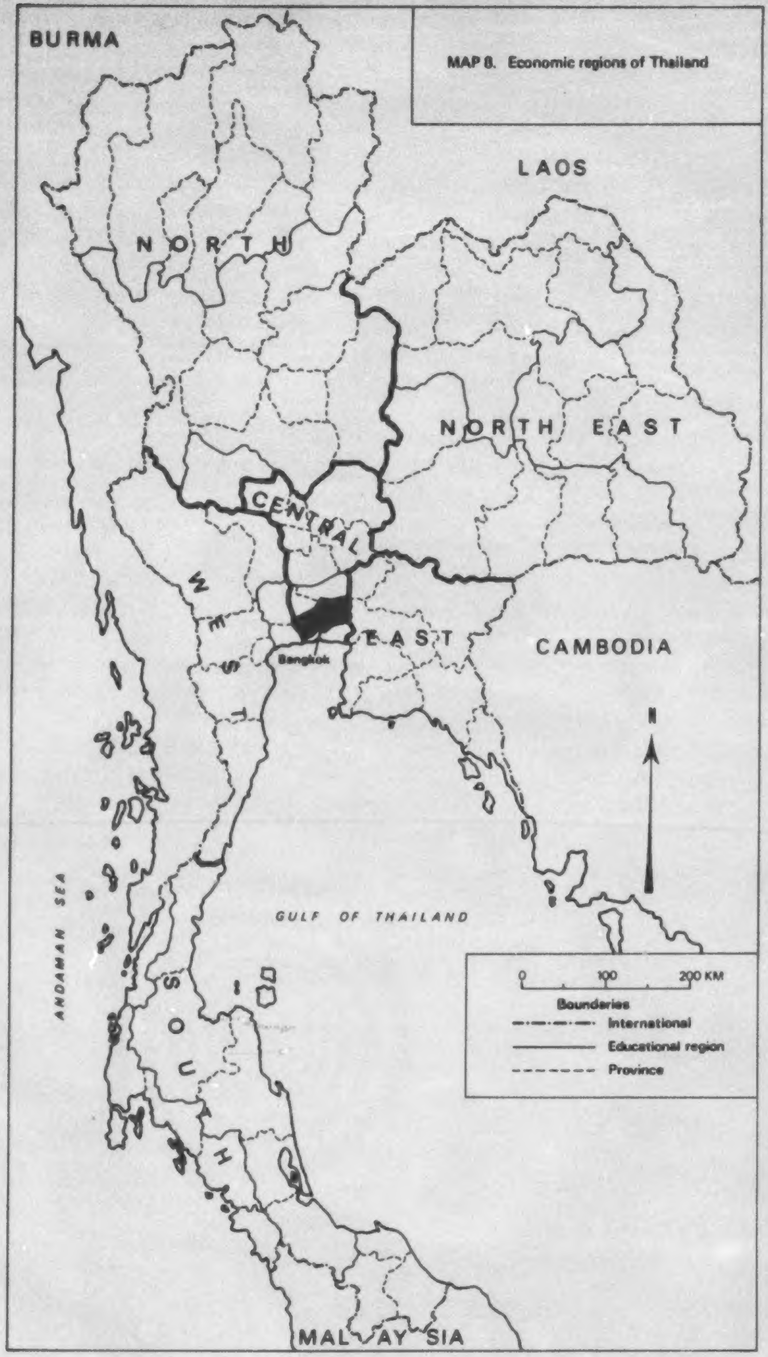
On a parallel to this unequal distribution of places among the various socio-economic groups, there are considerable regional disparities. Although Thailand has more than ten institutions of higher education, only three are outside the Bangkok Metropolis, namely Chiengmai University in the North, Prince of Songkhla University in the South and Khon Kaen University in the North-east. Srinakharinwirot University, the former College of Education, has four campuses in Bangkok and another four campuses outside Bangkok, namely Phitsanulok in the North, Songkhla in the South, Bangsaen Chonburi in the East and Maha Sarakhram in the North-east. Moreover, all private higher-education institutions and Ramkhamhaeng University, Thailand's only open university, are also located in Bangkok. It is obvious that residents in Bangkok and in other university cities have a better chance of entering higher education.

Data on higher education are not available at the province level; for such data, the country has been divided into seven regions (see Map 8):

- Metropolitan (Bangkok Area)
- Central (10 provinces)
- North (16 provinces)
- North-east (15 provinces)
- South (14 provinces)
- East (8 provinces)
- West (7 provinces)

TABLE 5. Distribution of candidates and successful candidates, according to father's socio-economic group.

| Father's socio-economic group | Candidates |  | Successful candidates |  | Rate of Success |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Number | % | Number | % | % |
| Proprietors | 22 437 | 50.8 | 5 652 | 53.4 | 25.1 |
| Government officials | 10 328 | 23.4 | 2 235 | 21.1 | 21.6 |
| Employees | 4 951 | 11.2 | 1 340 | 12.7 | 27.1 |
| Peasants | 3 283 | 7.4 | 602 | 5.7 | 18.3 |
| Others | 1 787 | 4.0 | 477 | 4.5 | 26.7 |
| Unknown | 1 396 | 3.2 | 287 | 2.7 | 20.6 |
| Total | 44 182 | 100.0 | 10 593 | 100.0 | 24.0 |



MAP 8. Economic regions of Thailand

BURMA
LAOS
NORTH
NORTH EAST
CENTRAL
WEST
EAST
Bangkok
CAMBODIA
N
GULF OF THAILAND
ANDAMAN SEA
SOUTH
MALAYSIA
0
100
200 KM
Boundaries
International
Educational region
Province

TABLE 6. Distribution of candidates according to parents' place of residence.

| | Population (000s) | | Total candidates | | | Successful candidates | | | Rate of success |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Parents' residence | Number | % | Number | % | Selectivity index | Number | % | Selectivity index | % |
| Metropolitan | 4 351 | 10.1 | 17 893 | 40.5 | 4.01 | 5 056 | 47.7 | 4.72 | 28.3 |
| Central | 3 505 | 8.1 | 3 366 | 7.6 | 0.94 | 641 | 6.1 | 0.75 | 19.0 |
| North | 9 151 | 21.2 | 5 523 | 12.5 | 0.59 | 1 133 | 10.7 | 0.50 | 20.6 |
| North-east | 15 188 | 35.2 | 4 414 | 10.0 | 0.28 | 773 | 7.3 | 0.21 | 17.5 |
| South | 5 324 | 12.3 | 5 676 | 12.8 | 1.02 | 1 341 | 12.7 | 1.03 | 23.6 |
| East | 2 471 | 5.7 | 3 600 | 8.1 | 1.42 | 789 | 7.4 | 1.30 | 21.9 |
| West | 3 170 | 7.3 | 3 421 | 7.7 | 1.05 | 798 | 7.5 | 1.03 | 23.3 |
| Abroad | — | — | 12 | — | — | 2 | — | — | 16.7 |
| Unknown | — | — | 288 | 0.7 | — | 60 | 0.6 | — | 20.8 |
| Total | 43 160 | 100.0 | 44 182 | 100.0 | 1.00 | 10 593 | 100.0 | 1.00 | 24.0 |

SOURCE Office of State Universities, Office of the Prime Minister, *Report on the Joint Higher Education Entrance Examination, Academic Year 1974-75*, Bangkok, 1977.

Table 6 gives the distribution of candidates and successful candidates according to the parents' place of residence in the different regions.

The rate of success is the highest for Bangkok and the lowest for the North-east. What should be underlined, however, is that while the population of Bangkok is only 10.1 per cent of the total population of Thailand, the proportion of successful students whose parents are resident in Bangkok is 47.7 per cent, i.e. a selectivity index of 4.72. At the other extreme, the selectivity index for the North-east is only .21. In other words, the probability of a child whose parents are resident in Bangkok gaining access to higher education is four times that for the country as a whole, and nearly 23 times that of a child whose parents are resident in the North-east. This indicates the extent of the disparities between regions.

The unequal distribution of students between the various regions can be summarised by a Lorenz curve, as in Figure 9 where the cumulative percentage of the population is measured on the horizontal axis and the cumulative percentage of successful candidates is measured on the vertical axis.

In the above analysis we have taken into account the region of the parents' residence and not the region of the student's residence in order to avoid the bias resulting from the effect of migration of students for educational purposes. Such migration is of course very important and can occur at a level prior to higher education. If we only take into account successful candidates, the distribution of students according to the location of the school where they received their lower- and upper-secondary education and according to their parents' place of residence is given in Table 7.

The number of successful candidates whose parents reside in Bangkok is 5,056, but among the successful candidates there were 5,815 who had received

TABLE 7. Distribution of successful candidates admitted to higher education according to the location of their upper-secondary and lower-secondary schools and the place of residence of their parents, 1975.

| Region | Location of candidate's upper-secondary school | Location of candidate's lower-secondary school | Residence of parents |
|---|---|---|---|
| Metropolitan | 7 941 | 5 815 | 5 056 |
| Central | 473 | 476 | 641 |
| North | 678 | 970 | 1 133 |
| North-east | 298 | 581 | 773 |
| South | 565 | 1 122 | 1 341 |
| East | 326 | 695 | 789 |
| West | 326 | 638 | 798 |
| Abroad | 3 | 1 | 2 |
| Unknown | — | — | 60 |
| Total | 10 593 | 10 593 | 10 593 |

SOURCE Office of State Universities, Office of the Prime Minister, *Report on the Joint Higher Education Entrance Examination, 1974-75*, op. cit.

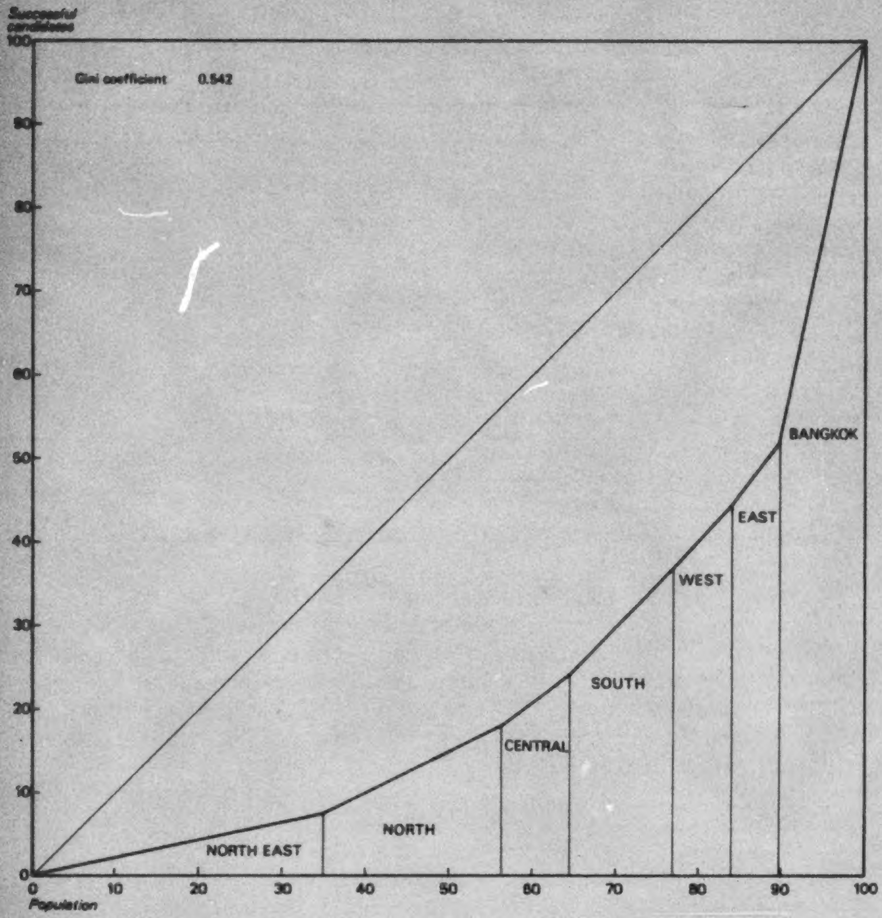


FIGURE 9. *Percentage of total population and percentage of successful candidates in the various regions, 1975 (Lorenz curve).*

their lower-secondary schooling in Bangkok and 7,941 who had had their upper-secondary schooling there. This indicates that there is migration to Bangkok even at the lower-secondary level, which increases at the upper-secondary level.

In the North-east exactly the reverse is the case. The number of candidates whose parents reside there is 773, but only 581 students received their lower-secondary education in the North-east, and this figure falls to 298 for upper secondary.

Migratory movement is in fact more complex, as indicated in Table 8 which shows the migratory movement at lower- and upper-secondary level of successful candidates to higher education.

TABLE 8. Distribution of successful candidates according to the region where they received their lower- and upper-secondary education.

| | Lower-secondary | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Upper secondary | Metropolitan | Central | North | North-east | South | East | West | Abroad | Unknown | Total |
| Metropolitan | *5 668* | 525 | 295 | 276 | 540 | 397 | 329 | — | 211 | 7 941 |
| Central | 118 | *236* | 17 | 14 | 37 | 15 | 18 | — | 18 | 473 |
| North | 8 | 3 | *638* | 2 | 6 | 4 | — | — | 17 | 678 |
| North-east | 3 | 1 | — | *284* | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | 7 | 298 |
| South | 3 | — | 3 | 2 | *524* | 3 | 1 | — | 29 | 565 |
| East | 9 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 5 | *272* | 3 | — | 11 | 309 |
| West | 6 | 7 | 4 | 1 | 7 | 3 | *286* | — | 12 | 326 |
| Abroad | — | — | — | — | 2 | — | — | *1* | — | 3 |
| Unknown | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Total | 5 815 | 476 | 960 | 581 | 1 122 | 695 | 638 | 1 | 305 | 10 593 |

SOURCE Office of State Universities, op. cit.

The figures in italics relate to the candidates who received both their lower- and upper-secondary education in the same region. The other figures indicate the relative importance of migration flows. As can be seen, there are important inflows of lower-secondary students to Bangkok from all the regions (525 from Central, 295 from the North, 276 from the North-east, etc.). The outflows of lower-secondary students from Bangkok to the other regions are much smaller (118 to Central, 8 to North, etc.).

## Conclusion

In this chapter we have attempted to show regional disparities in access to the different levels of education. From what has been observed, it seems that three main conclusions can be reached.

1. With only a very few exceptions, there is a consistent pattern of regional disparities which is similar for all levels of education. This is a centre-periphery pattern which shows that the border provinces, particularly those in the North and the North-east, are especially under-privileged.
2. The expansion of the system in the past has tended to reduce disparities at the lower-primary level. The disparities are however transferred to the next stage of the educational system, in particular because of the wide range of variation of the transition rate from lower- to upper-primary education.
3. Disparities in access tend to increase as one goes up the ladder of the educational system, and for upper-secondary and higher education are quite considerable.

# III. Regional disparities in school characteristics

In the previous chapter we have analysed disparities in access to the various levels of education. Access to education depends on the interaction between the supply of education (i.e. the geographical distribution of the school network and school characteristics) and the demand for education, which is a function of both the child's past career in the school system and parental attitudes towards the benefits to be derived from education.

Here we still consider only the supply of education, and the main purpose is to show the unequal distribution of resources (both human and financial) among the various provinces. Possible correlations between school characteristics and access will also be discussed.

## A. Disparities in school characteristics in primary education

As we have previously noted, there are four school networks in primary education in Thailand:

- The Ministry of Education network }
- The municipal network } in urban areas
- The private network }
- The provincial network in rural areas

Although, in principle, a child can go from one network to another, in practice these networks are quite separate and their characteristics differ greatly. In other words, there are important differences within each province and particularly in terms of urban and rural areas. We will deal with this aspect in Chapter IV. For the time being, we will analyse only the differences existing between the provinces. The two variables which we will consider in this analysis are teacher qualifications and the pupil/teacher ratio.

### *1. Teacher qualifications in primary education*

In Thailand the qualifications of the teaching force in primary education cover quite a large range, going from incomplete secondary education to a Bachelor's degree or higher. In this study we shall consider as being 'qualified' those

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teachers who fall into one of the two following categories: (a) bachelor's degree or higher (4 years of higher education); and (b) diploma in education or equivalent (2 years of higher education).

For the country as a whole, the percentage of qualified teachers (according to the previous definition) is 38.4 per cent. The range however is very large, going from 18.1 per cent in Mae Hong Song to 73.2 per cent in Bangkok.[1]

If the provinces are regrouped into 5 categories in relation to the national mean (as was done previously), i.e.

— Very low : less than $.5\bar{x}$
— Low : from $.5\bar{x}$ *to* $.9\bar{x}$
— Medium : from $.9\bar{x}$ *to* $1.1\bar{x}$
— High — from $1.1\bar{x}$ *to* $1.5\bar{x}$
— Very high : more than $1.5\bar{x}$

the geographical distribution of the provinces according to the primary teachers' qualifications is as shown in Map 9. The pattern is very similar to what we have seen above, in other words a strong centre-periphery pattern.

If we leave aside the South, which shows a large variety of situations, we can observe in the rest of the country a series of quasi-concentric areas with Bangkok and the neighbouring provinces at the centre. As one goes from Bangkok to the border in the North and in the North-east one finds successive sets of provinces with a progressively decreasing percentage of qualified teachers, until one reaches the provinces in the extreme North, where the situation is particularly bad.

There are some exceptions to this general profile. The province of Chiengmai, for instance, is relatively better off than its immediate neighbours; Chieng Mai is, however, a large city with a university and a school of education.

The geographical distribution of the provinces according to the percentage of qualified teachers can be explained by various factors, among which one can cite:

1. The relative preference of qualified teachers for Bangkok and large cities;
2. The unequal distribution in the various provinces of all four school networks;
3. The unequal distribution of financial resources for education to the various provinces.

### 2. *Pupil/teacher ratio in primary education*

If compared with that in other developing countries, the pupil/teacher ratio is relatively low in Thailand. For the country as a whole the average ratio is 29.5, with a range going from 13.9 in Mae Hong Song to 38.7 in Samut Prakan.[2]

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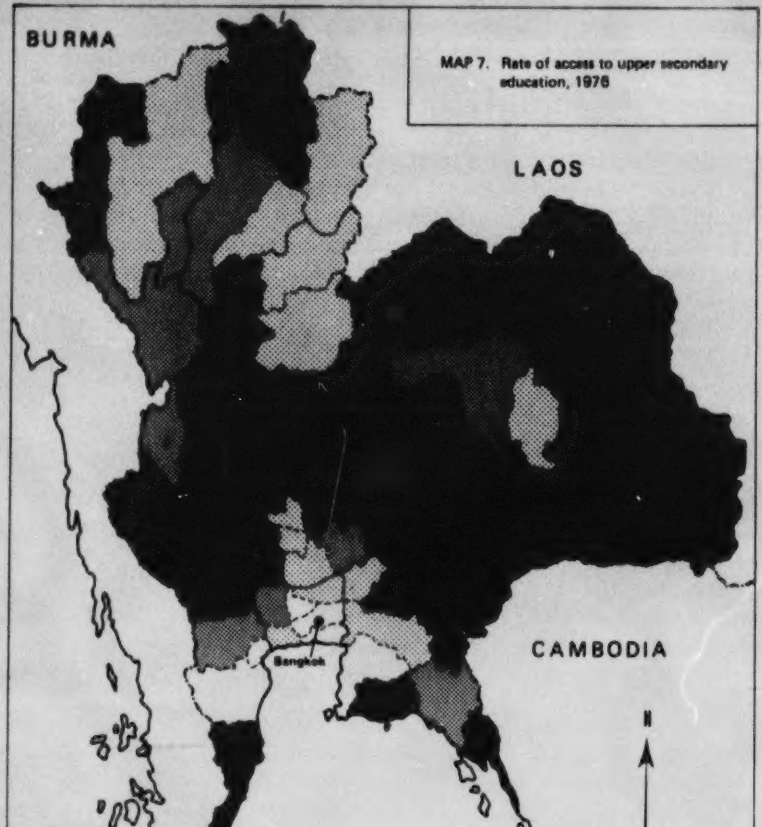
[1] The weighted standard deviation is $\sigma = 4.711$ and the coefficient of variation $\frac{\sigma}{\bar{x}} = .325$.

[2] The standard deviation $\sigma$ is 9.734 and the coefficient of variation is $\frac{\sigma}{\bar{x}} = .226$.


MAP 7. Rate of access to upper secondary education, 1976

BURMA
LAOS
CAMBODIA
Bangkok
GULF OF THAILAND
ANDAMAN SEA
MALAYSIA
N
0
100
200 KM
Boundaries
International
Educational region
Province
Scale
More than 1.5 x̄
1.1 to 1.5 x̄
0.9 to 1.1 x̄
0.5 to 0.9 x̄
Less than 0.5 x̄
x̄ = 6.393

It is in the North-east that the number of pupils per teacher is the highest. For the rest of the country, there is no systematic pattern. As we shall see later, the correlation between the pupil/teacher ratio and access to upper-primary school is very weak. The number of pupils per teacher is not significantly higher in the provinces where the access rate to upper primary is low. It would seem therefore that there is no strong pressure of demand in existing schools. In other words, to increase the rate of access to upper primary, it may be necessary to expand the school network (particularly in the rural areas) so as to bring education closer to the population.

## B. Disparities in school characteristics in secondary education

While primary education is mainly the responsibility of the Ministry of the Interior, which finances entirely the provincial schools and in part the municipal schools, secondary education is administered solely by the Ministry of Education.

The two variables we have selected as indicators of school characteristics in secondary education are the percentage of qualified teachers and the pupil/teacher ratio.

### *1. Percentage of qualified teachers*

For secondary education, we have considered as being qualified those teachers who hold a Bachelor's degree in Education or above. According to this definition, the average percentage of qualified teachers for the whole country is 43.2 per cent, with the range going from 27.6 per cent in Nakhon Phanom to 67.7 per cent in Bangkok.[1]

The geographical distribution of the provinces according to the percentage of qualified teachers in secondary education is very similar to that in primary education. Here also, the percentage of qualified teachers is high for Bangkok and the neighbouring provinces, decreasing gradually as one moves from Bangkok to the provinces in the extreme North and North-east. As we will see later, there is a high correlation between the percentage of qualified teachers in primary education and the percentage of qualified teachers in secondary education.

### *2. Pupil/teacher ratio in secondary education*

The pupil/teacher ratio in secondary education is rather low. The average for the country as a whole is 23.5; the range goes from 17 in Mae Hong Song to 30 in Maha Sarakham. In fact, in 55 provinces out of a total of 70, the range is between 20 and 25. Disparities between the provinces are not high and secondary-school classes do not seem to be overloaded.

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[1] The standard deviation is 9.734 and the coefficient of variation is $\frac{\sigma}{\bar{x}}$ .226.

## C. Relationship between school characteristics and access to education

### *1. Primary education*

The correlation coefficient between the variables related to school characteristics and the variables related to access to lower and primary education are given in Table 9.

From these correlation coefficients one can draw the following conclusions:

1. The correlation coefficient between the percentage of qualified teachers and the pupil/teacher ratio is negative (which would mean that the higher the percentage of qualified teachers, the lower the number of pupils per teacher). This coefficient however is low and the correlation is not significant.
2. Access to lower-primary education is very weakly associated to the percentage of qualified teachers and the pupil/teacher ratio. Here also the correlation is not significant. This may be explained by the fact that lower-primary education is well developed in all provinces and that this level of education is now practically universal. The variation in the access rate to lower-primary education is very small and is not linked to the above-mentioned variables.
3. The transition rate from lower to upper primary is strongly associated with the percentage of qualified teachers. This relationship however should be interpreted with caution. It signifies only that in the provinces where the percentage of qualified teachers is high, the transition rate from lower- to upper-primary education is also high, but does not necessarily mean a causal relationship. As we will see, the provinces where the percentage of qualified teachers in primary is high are also those provinces with a high rate of urbanisation, a high GDP *per capita* and a high percentage of qualified teachers in secondary education.

TABLE 9. Correlation coefficients between variables related to school characteristics and variables related to access to primary education.

| | Percentage of qualified teachers in primary education | Pupil/teacher ratio in primary education |
|---|---|---|
| Percentage of qualified teachers in primary education | — | –.3142 |
| Rate of access to lower-primary education | 2.942 | .0828 |
| Transition ratio from lower- to upper-primary education | .7512[1] | –.4612[1] |

[1] Significant at the .001 level.

### *2. Secondary education*

The correlation coefficients between variables related to secondary-school characteristics and to access to lower- and upper-secondary education are given in Table 10.

TABLE 10. Correlation coefficients between school characteristics and access to lower and upper secondary education.

| | Percentage of qualified teachers in secondary education | Pupil/teacher ratio in secondary education |
|---|---|---|
| Percentage of qualified teachers in primary education | .8466[1] | .0213 |
| Percentage of qualified teachers in secondary education | — | –.2045 |
| Access to lower-secondary education | .6775[1] | .0805 |
| Access to upper-secondary education | .7666[1] | .0305 |

1. Significant at the .001 level.

As can be seen from this table, the percentage of qualified teachers in primary education is strongly associated with the percentage of qualified teachers in secondary education. This association is shown in the scattergram (Figure 10), where each point represents a province with the percentage of qualified teachers in primary and secondary indicated respectively on the horizontal and vertical axes.

In provinces where the percentage of qualified teachers is high in primary education, it is also high in secondary education. It would seem therefore that there is a pattern of preference for certain provinces which is common to qualified teachers in both primary and secondary education. With regard to the geographical distribution, we have seen[1] that this pattern takes on a strong centre-periphery form with a high concentration of qualified teachers in Bangkok and the neighbouring provinces. Moving out from the centre, we can observe quasi-concentric areas where the percentage of qualified teachers tends to decrease progressively. It is the lowest in the border provinces in the North and North-east.

The correlation between the percentage of qualified teachers and the access rate is rather strong, particularly in so far as upper-secondary education is concerned. However, as we have mentioned before, this relationship should be interpreted with caution. One should not hastily establish a causal relationship from the fact that the provinces where the percentage of qualified teachers is high are also the provinces with a high access rate to secondary education.

Conversely, correlation between the pupil/teacher ratio and access to lower- and upper-secondary education is not significant. As we have seen, there is little variation in the number of pupils per teacher in secondary education and it would seem that this variation is not linked to the access rate.

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[1] See *supra*, pp. 244–246.

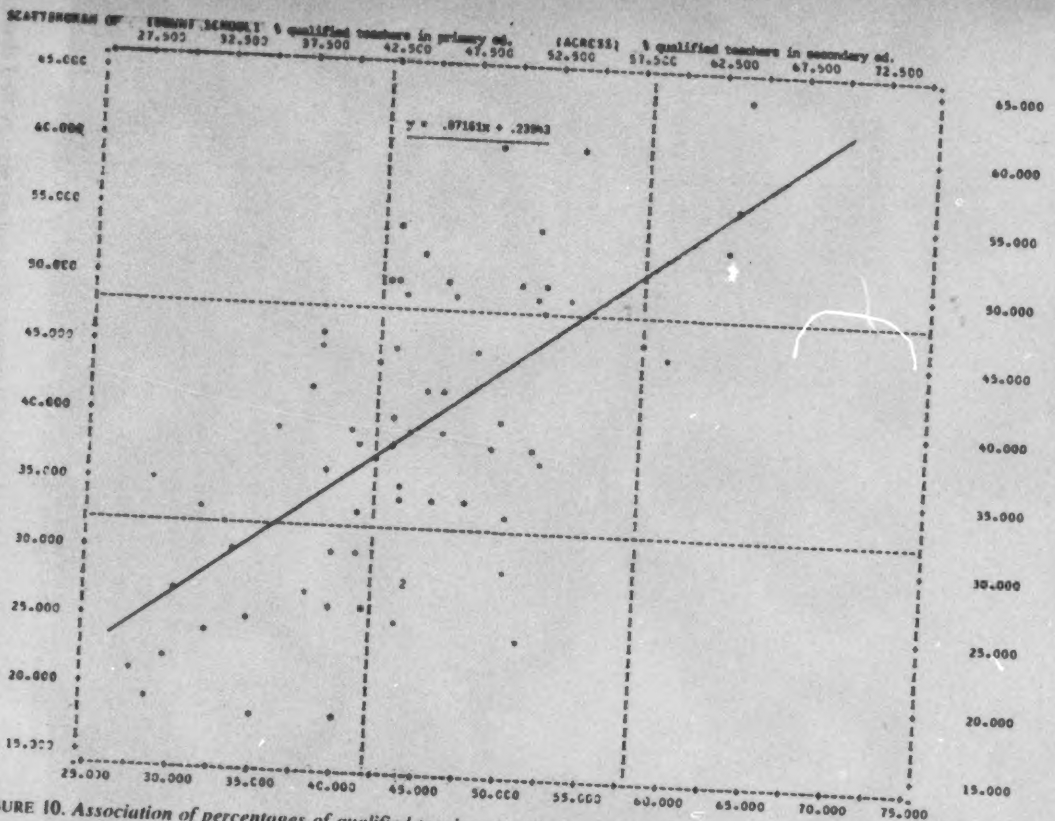

FIGURE 10. *Association of percentages of qualified teachers in primary and secondary education.*

# IV. Rural-urban disparities in the development of education

As we have noted previously, parallel to the provincial disparities existing in educational development, there are also large differences between rural and urban areas. This problem of rural-urban disparities is particularly important in Thailand because the country is predominantly agricultural. According to the 1970 census, the percentage of the population in rural areas is estimated at 86.2 per cent.

Another striking feature is the disproportionate size of Bangkok as compared to the other cities. The population of Bangkok-Thonburi has reached the 4-million mark at the present time, but there are only three cities (Chieng Mai, Nakhon Ratchasima and Udon Thani) which have populations of over 100,000. The 66 other provincial capitals (Muang municipalities) have on average 30,000 inhabitants. The remaining towns, i.e. those which are not provincial capitals (Tambon municipalities), are even smaller.

As is stated in the Fourth National Economic and Social Plan:

> The concentration of population, economic activity and administration in the Bangkok metropolitan area has impeded the distribution of growth to regions outside Bangkok.
>
> The pull effect of Bangkok in terms of employment opportunities and higher wages in the industrial and service sectors has resulted in a flow of migrants from rural areas especially from the North-east, the North and the upper part of the Central region into the Bangkok metropolitan area at a higher rate than the inter-regional migration rates.
>
> Bangkok is really the only centre of growth in Thailand. It is the centre of public administration, military installation and commercial activities and is the location of the main industrial and public utilities. The economic pull of Bangkok is so great that the cities and regions outside may be considered as its satellites.[1]

Because of the disproportionate size of Bangkok, it is not surprising that there is the strong centre-periphery pattern which we have noticed in previous chapters.

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[1] National Economic and Social Development Board. *The Fourth National Economic and Social Plan 1977–1981*. Bangkok, 1977.

Disparities between rural and urban areas in Thailand can be illustrated in two different ways. The first one is to start from the fact that these two areas have practically separate school networks. Comparison of the characteristics of the different school networks and the academic achievement of their pupils can give us an idea about the differences which exist between the urban and rural areas. The second way is to start from the fact that the rate of urbanisation is quite different according to the provinces. By establishing systematic correlations between the rate of urbanisation and the other variables related to school characteristics and access to education, it is possible to draw inferences about rural-urban disparities.

## A. Disparities between the different types of schools

Prior to 1932 all public primary schools were administered by the Ministry of Education. At district and provincial levels there were educational officers who were in charge of the supervision of public schools; these officers were appointed by the Ministry of Education.

In 1932, with the promulgation of the Municipality Act, the administration of public schools situated in urban areas was transferred to the municipalities. These schools were financed by the municipalities with, however, a subsidy from the Ministry of the Interior.

In 1966 the responsibility of the Ministry of Education was further reduced. The administration of all primary schools in *rural* areas was transferred to the provincial authorities, who also financed them by means of a subsidy from the Ministry of the Interior.

At the primary level, the Ministry of Education has responsibility for two types of school only: the '*experimental*' *schools* where in principle new teaching methods are tried out and which are administered by the Department of General Education at the Ministry of Education; and the '*demonstration*' *schools*, which are attached to the teacher-training colleges and administered by the Department of Teacher Training at the Ministry of Education. We should add that the various university schools of education also have their 'demonstration schools', which are run by the universities. The universities do not come under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education but under that of the Bureau of Universities, which is attached directly to the Prime Minister's Office.

The last type of school is the private school, which is financed mainly from tuition fees, but which may also receive subsidies from the Office of Private Education Commission, Ministry of Education.

In the urban areas three types of school are to be found: municipal schools, schools run by the Ministry of Education and private schools. These schools have clientèles coming from quite different social groups.

Most of the children who attend schools run by the Ministry of Education come from élite families; admission to these schools is gained by passing a highly selective examination.

Private schools serve both the very rich families and the average ones. Some of the large and famous private schools demand very high tuition fees, which only very rich families can afford. There are however less expensive private schools for average families.

Municipal schools serve the rest of the children, who come mainly from low-income families. Since primary education is in principle compulsory, these schools do not require any fee or entrance examination.

Provincial schools serve children living outside the municipal area, i.e. children from rural areas, and here again there is neither fee nor entrance examination.

The characteristics of these schools are of course extremely different. In the case of the public schools, for instance, the variations shown in Table 11 can be observed.

As can be seen, it is in the schools run by the Ministry of Education that the percentage of qualified teachers is the highest and the number of pupils per teacher the lowest. In the municipal schools the situation is not so good, and in the provincial schools which cater for the rural children it is even worse.

Repetition rates are also quite different (see Table 12). They are very low in the Ministry of Education schools and much higher in the municipal and provincial schools. Academic achievement is also quite different. This does not mean necessarily that academic achievement depends solely upon the characteristics or the 'quality' of these three types of schools; to a large extent it

TABLE 11. Characteristics of the three types of public schools at lower-primary level.

| | Ministry of Education schools | Municipal schools | Provincial schools |
|---|---|---|---|
| Percentage of qualified teachers [1] | 76.1 | 36.4 | 24.8 |
| Number of pupils per teacher | 25 | 31 | 32 |

1. Only the teachers who have a Diploma in Education or a Bachelor's Degree in Education (i.e., 2 years or 4 years of teacher training after upper-secondary school) have been considered as being qualified.

SOURCE Office of the National Education Commission, *Equality of educational opportunity*, Bangkok, 1974, p. 40.

TABLE 12. Repetition rates in the three types of public schools at lower-primary level.

| | Ministry of Education schools | Municipal schools | Provincial schools |
|---|---|---|---|
| Grade 1 | 3.9 | 19.2 | 24.7 |
| Grade 2 | 5.3 | 12.6 | 15.2 |
| Grade 3 | 4.0 | 14.5 | 13.7 |
| Grade 4 | 3.1 | 6.3 | 5.8 |
| Total average | 4.1 | 13.5 | 15.8 |

SOURCE Office of the National Education Commission, op. cit., p. 41.

TABLE 13. Grade 3 scores by type of school and by region (maximum score is 100).

| | Bangkok | | Central | | South | | North | | North-east | | Whole country | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Thai | Arithmetic | Thai | Arithmetic | Thai | Arithmetic | Thai | Arithmetic | Thai | Arithmatic | Thai | Arithmetic |
| Private schools | 57.1 | 55.8 | 48.9 | 48.0 | 41.8 | 42.9 | 42.9 | 43.6 | 39.9 | 38.1 | 50.5 | 49.6 |
| Min. of Ed. schools | 53.9 | 55.7 | 48.3 | 49.6 | 42.8 | 45.8 | 48.9 | 49.6 | 38.4 | 40.9 | 48.3 | 50.3 |
| Municipal schools | 46.7 | 49.3 | 39.4 | 40.3 | 35.0 | 38.0 | 37.4 | 39.3 | 37.5 | 37.1 | 40.0 | 41.9 |
| Provincial schools | 40.3 | 39.8 | 31.4 | 31.3 | 30.8 | 33.3 | 29.2 | 29.8 | 25.4 | 24.5 | 28.5 | 28.5 |
| All schools | 51.3 | 51.0 | 33.6 | 33.4 | 31.8 | 34.2 | 29.7 | 30.3 | 25.9 | 25.0 | 32.9 | 32.9 |
| Standard deviation | 18.1 | 18.7 | 14.1 | 15.8 | 11.6 | 14.3 | 11.1 | 13.5 | 10.6 | 12.8 | 14.7 | 16.4 |
| Coefficient of variation | .353 | .367 | .420 | .473 | .365 | .418 | .374 | .446 | .409 | .512 | .477 | .498 |

SOURCE Office of the National Education Commission, *Equality of educational opportunity*. Bangkok, 1974, p. 8.

depends upon the family background of the children. Variation in academic achievement in the different types of schools is large enough to be mentioned.

The data given in Table 13 are interesting in that the table distinguishes both between the types of schools and between the regions. As can be expected, there are differences between the regions, but what is surprising is the *size* of the differences. Pupils in Bangkok, on the average, perform about *twice* as well as pupils in the North-east. In fact, the scores for the North-east are near the chance level (20 per cent) and suggest that a large percentage of pupils who enter Grade 3 have not begun to master basic language and mathematic skills.

Within each region, the differences between the pupils are also quite large, as can be seen from the value of the coefficient of variation. The differences between the various types of schools follow a consistent pattern in all the regions. Pupils from private schools and from Ministry of Education schools rank higher in both Thai language and arithmetic. Pupils from municipal schools rank second and those from provincial schools rank lowest. If we exclude the province of Bangkok, which is in a very specific situation since its rate of urbanisation is 81.09 per cent (precisely because of the importance of the metropolitan area), we can say that the scores of the provincial schools in all regions are very low (from 25.4 to 31.4 in Thai and from 24.5 to 31.3 in arithmetic, i.e. from one-fourth to less than one-third of the maximum score!). These schools are precisely the schools attended by rural children.

Without under-estimating the effect of family background on academic achievement (which is indeed quite considerable), it is still fair to say that children from rural areas go to schools where the percentage of qualified teachers is low and where the number of pupils per teacher is high. They repeat more frequently, especially in the lower grades, and their academic achievement is very low.

## B. Relation between the degree of urbanisation of various provinces, school caracteristics and access to education

As we have seen, according to the 1970 census, the rate of urbanisation in Thailand is 13.8 per cent. This rate varies enormously however according to the provinces, as Table 14 shows.

Using the rate of urbanisation as an indicator, one can draw some interesting conclusions about the differences between the urban and rural areas both with regard to access to education and to school characteristics.

### *1. Rate of urbanisation and access to education*

As in previous sections of this paper, we have distinguished between:

- — Access to lower primary
- — Access to upper primary
- — Access to lower secondary
- — Access to upper secondary

TABLE 14. Rate of urbanisation of the various provinces.

| Provinces | Rate of urbanisation |
|---|---|
| *Three highest provinces* | |
| 1. Phra Nakhon (Bangkok) | 81.09 |
| 2. Phuket | 34.35 |
| 3. Yala | 21.20 |
| *Three median provinces* | |
| 34. Chumphon | 6.65 |
| 35. Satun | 6.25 |
| 36. Sukhothai | 5.93 |
| *Three lowest provinces* | |
| 68. Chayaphun | 1.98 |
| 69. Pattun Thani | 1.87 |
| 70. Sisaket | 1.72 |
| National rate | 13.9 |
| Standard deviation | 22.9 |

SOURCE 1970 Population Census.

The correlation coefficients between the rate of urbanisation and the access rates to these levels of education are given in Table 15.

The correlation between the rate of urbanisation and access to lower-primary education is very weak. As we have already seen, this is due to the fact that considerable progress has been made in the 1960s and 1970s with regard to the development of lower-primary education.[1] Variation in the rates of access in the various provinces is quite small. It is not surprising therefore that the relationship between the rate of urbanisation and access to lower primary is very weak, as even in remote rural areas lower-primary education is available.

The correlation between the rate of urbanisation and the rate of access to upper primary is already stronger. As we have mentioned, the selection process

TABLE 15. Correlation coefficients between the rate of urbanisation and access to various levels of education.

| | Rate of access to | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Lower primary | Upper primary | Lower secondary | Upper secondary |
| Rate of urbanization | .1425 | .5239[1] | .7540[1] | .8664[1] |

1. Significant at the .001 level.

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[1] See *supra*, pp. 215–221.

really begins with upper-primary education.[1] The correlation of course becomes progressively stronger as we go up the educational ladder. Secondary education, for obvious reasons, is to be found only in urban areas. It is normal, therefore, that, taking into account the spatial distribution of lower-secondary network and to a greater extent that of the upper-secondary school network, the probability of proceeding to secondary education depends upon the rate of urbanisation of the various provinces.

### 2. *Rate of urbanisation and school characteristics*

From the school characteristics, we have chosen for the purpose of our analysis five main variables: three for primary education (percentage of qualified teachers, pupil/teacher ratio and per-pupil recurrent grant to provincial schools) and two for secondary education (percentage of qualified teachers, pupil/teacher ratio). The correlation coefficients between the rate of urbanisation and the above school characteristics' variables are given in Table 16.

Correlation between the rate of urbanisation and the percentage of qualified teachers both in primary and in secondary education is quite high. This indicates the preference of qualified teachers for urban areas rather than a systematic policy to staff schools located in rural areas with less-qualified teachers. For rural children, however, the end result is the same.

It is interesting to note that the correlation between the per-pupil grant to provincial schools and the rate of urbanisation is *positive* although not very strong. This means that the provincial schools (i.e. rural schools) tend to receive higher grants in the provinces where the rate of urbanisation is high than in provinces where the rate of urbanisation is low. In other words, the rural areas of the province with a high rate of urbanisation are better off than the rural areas of the province with a low rate of urbanisation. As we shall see later, the rate of urbanisation is highly correlated with the GDP *per capita:* the higher the GDP *per capita,* the more urbanised is the province.

TABLE 16. Correlation coefficients between rate of urbanisation and school characteristic variables.

| | Correlation coefficient |
|---|---|
| Percentage of qualified teachers in primary education | .8101[1] |
| Pupil/teacher ratio in primary education | –.2640 |
| Per-pupil recurrent grant to provincial schools | .6102[1] |
| Percentage of qualified teachers in secondary education | .7590[1] |
| Pupil/teacher ratio in secondary education | .0746 |

1. Significant at the .001 level.

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[1] See *supra*, pp. 226–229.

In so far as the pupil/teacher ratio is concerned, one should observe that the correlation is rather weak. It is not very significant for primary education. The fact that it is negative means that the lower the rate of urbanisation, the higher the number of pupils per teacher. Although the relation is very weak it deserves to be noted, since contrary to what might be expected, the number of pupils per teacher may be higher in remote areas despite the fact that the population density might be much lower and the population dispersed.

The correlation between the rate of urbanisation and the pupil/teacher ratio in secondary education is not significant, but as we have noted previously, the variation in the pupil/teacher ratio in the different provinces is very small.

## C. Disparities in the development of education in rural areas in the various provinces

Up until now we have considered the rural areas as a whole and have tried to draw a comparison with the urban areas. In fact, the rural areas are far from being homogenous and sizeable differences may exist between the rural areas of the various provinces.

One way of showing these differences is to focus the analysis on the provincial schools, which are typically rural schools, and to examine the disparities which occur in this category of schools in the various provinces. To do so, we shall look into the allocation of resources to the various provinces for the running of the provincial schools. As we have noted previously, the provincial schools are financed by a subsidy from the Ministry of the Interior. It is therefore possible to calculate the recurrent subsidy per pupil and the capital subsidy per pupil for each of the 70 provinces.

### *1. Recurrent subsidy per pupil to provincial schools*

In 1975 the average per-pupil subsidy to provincial primary schools for the country as a whole is 730 bahts. The range however goes from 516 bahts in Chiang Rai to 1653 bahts in Mae Hong Song.[1] There are, in other words, sizeable differences between the various provinces.

The fact was already underlined in the report prepared in 1972 for the Division of Rural Elementary Education, Department of Local Administration, Ministry of the Interior, in the framework of the *Project to improve school finances in Thailand*. The report states in particular:

> At all echelons, budget request figures are neither accompanied by nor based upon essential statistics of enrolment, number of teachers, schools, rooms, etc. Even the final submission from the *changwads* to Bangkok is not accompanied by essential

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[1] The standard deviation is 148.212 and the coefficient of variation is $\frac{\sigma}{\bar{x}} = .203$.

enrolment data. Authorities who make final budget decisions in Bangkok have indicated that they do not have before them up-to-date enrolment data.[1]

There is tremendous variation among *amphoes* (districts) in the amounts they request per pupil. There is significant but somewhat less variation in *amphoe* requests forwarded by *changwads* to Bangkok. There is even quite significant variation in final allocation after the round-trip to Bangkok.[2]

There is some evidence that those *amphoes* which asked for the most received the most, as shown in Table A1 below. 20 of the 48 *amphoes*[3] had allocations in the same 400 baht interval as their request, while 13 went up and 15 went down. However, the most important indicator in Table A1 is the general positive relation between the two variables.[4]

TABLE A1. Relationship between initial request per pupil and final allocation per pupil, lower-elementary level, 1972.[2]

| *Amphoe* request to *changwad* | Final allocation | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Less than 400 | 400-799 | 800-1199 | 1200 and more | Total |
| Less than 400 | 7 | 12 | — | — | 19 |
| 400-799 | 5 | 8 | 1 | — | 14 |
| 800-1199 | — | 6 | 3 | — | 9 |
| 1200-1599 | — | 1 | 2 | 2 | 5 |
| 1600 and more | — | — | 1 | — | 1 |
| Total | 12 | 27 | 7 | 2 | 48 |

The relationships between the recurrent subsidy per pupil from the Ministry of the Interior to provincial schools and (a) the percentage of qualified teachers and (b) the pupil/teacher ratio provide an interesting analysis. The correlation coefficients are as follows:

| | *Percentage of qualified teachers* | *Pupil/teacher ratio* |
|---|---|---|
| Recurrent subsidy per pupil | .4353[6] | 8650[6] |

As can be seen, the recurrent subsidy per pupil to provincial schools is weakly associated to the percentage of qualified teachers *but* strongly (and negatively) associated to the pupil/teacher ratio. In other words, the provinces which receive high per-pupil subsidies tend to recruit more teachers (thus lowering the pupil/teacher ratio, which accounts for the negative value of the correlation coefficient), but not necessarily better-qualified teachers. This may be explained by the fact that qualified teachers prefer to stay in urban areas rather than go to the rural areas where the provincial schools are located.

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[1] F. Farner, *Project to improve school finance practices in Thailand*, Report prepared for the Division of Rural Elementary Education, Ministry of the Interior, Bangkok, 1972, Vol. 4, p. 13.

[2] F. Farner, *idem*, p. 32.

[3] The report is based on the analysis of the survey on the budgetary process in the 48 *amphoes* (districts) of the eight selected *changwads* (provinces).

[4] F. Farner, op. cit., p. 34.

[5] F. Farner, op. cit., p. 35.

[6] Significant at the .001 level.

### 2. *Capital subsidy for the development of upper-primary education in provincial schools*

Capital expenditure is yet another source of regional disparities, especially at the upper-primary level. This has been clearly shown in a report prepared by the Office of the National Education Commission in 1974. In this report, one can read the following:

> To determine whether recent allocations have encouraged equalization of access, it is necessary to find out if provinces with the most needs receive the largest allocation ... All provinces are ranked by need and by capital expenditure and then the rankings are correlated. The coefficient of correlation shows whether provinces which rank high on the percentage of Grade 4 pupils entering in Grade 5 also rank high on the amount of funds available for school buildings or whether provinces which rank low on Grade 5 opportunities rank low on allocation.
>
> As an indication of capital expenditure, we used average annual expenditures over a three-year period (1970-1972) because it seemed possible that the government might be concentrating its resources on the development of certain provinces in one year and other provinces in other years ... The average capital expenditure for each province was divided by Grade 4 enrolment to adjust it for the potential size of province demand for upper primary schooling ...
>
> The results are precisely the opposite of what was anticipated. The high, positive coefficients (.77) mean that provinces which already rank high on the availability of upper primary opportunities also generally rank high on capital allocations received from the central government.[1]

As we have seen directly from the comparison of the characteristics of the urban and rural networks, and indirectly through the analysis of correlation between the rates of urbanisation and various variables of access to education and school characteristics, the development and 'quality' of education are quite different in urban and rural areas. It is in rural areas that the percentage of qualified teachers tends to be low, the number of pupils per teacher high, that pupils repeat more and that academic achievement is particularly low. One has also to add that the situation in rural areas varies also widely according to the province, because allocation of resources is quite unequal in terms of both recurrent and capital subsidies.

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[1] Office of the National Education Commission, *Equality of educational opportunity, a study of primary schooling in Thailand*, Bangkok, 1974.

# V. Regional disparities in education and regional disparities in economic and social development

In previous chapters we have seen regional disparities in access to education and in school characteristics. These disparities are quite sizeable, and of course they do not occur haphazardly.

Regional disparities are sizeable also in terms of economic and social development. It would be interesting, therefore, to see whether the pattern of disparities in education coincides with that of economic and social development. To what extent does economic and social development determine educational development? To answer that question, we will begin our analysis at the regional level. We will then go further into the analysis at the provincial level.

## A. Disparities in education and disparities in economic and social development at the regional level

According to the analysis made by the Fourth National Economic and Social Development Plan (1977-1981), income inequality between different regions has increased.

> During the Third Plan, the economy of the Central Region managed to grow at an average of 7.1 per cent per year, while the other regions grew at a lower rate. Specifically, the average growth rate in the Northeast, the North and the South regions amounted to 5.4, 4.5 and 4.8 respectively. As a result, the share in national production in the Central Region has increased from 57.2 to 59.8 per cent in 1976.[1]
>
> The inter-regional economic disparities can be explained to a considerable extent in terms of dependence of areas outside the Central Region on the agricultural sector as the basic production sector and the main source of employment for the people living in these regions. Agricultural production in these peripheral regions expanded slowly. In fact, the agricultural sector in areas outside the Central Region during the Third Plan period was basically stagnant.[2]
>
> The performance of the non-agricultural sector, particularly the industrial and

---

1. National Economic and Social Development Board, *The fourth national economic and social plan*, 1977–1981, Bangkok 1977.
2. Ibid. page 86.

> commercial sector, was more impressive. However, as these activities were concentrated mainly in the Central Region, they contributed to a large extent to the undesirable trends in income distribution in Thailand. About 80 per cent of the GDP generated by the industrial sector can be accounted for by the central region and most of it by the Bangkok metropolitan area.[1]

The sizeable disparities in the wealth and production of the various regions are shown in Table 17. Because of the importance of the Central Region, it has been divided into four sub-units: West, East, Central and Bangkok.

In the North-east live 35.3 per cent of the total population; however, its share in the GDP is only 14.7 per cent. Conversely, Bangkok with 10.1 per cent of the population accounts for 26.7 per cent of the GDP. As a result, the range of the GDP *per capita* is quite large. It is almost seven times higher in Bangkok than in the North-east.

The unequal distribution of GDP in the various provinces is illustrated by a Lorenz curve in Figure 11. The shaded area between the diagonal and the curve gives the extent of inequality in the distribution of GDP in the various regions. The Gini coefficient corresponding to that curve reaches .338, which indicates a relatively high level of inequality (see page 263).

To what extent is this pattern of disparities also observed in the development of education? Table 18 gives the percentage of total population, of enrolment in lower primary, in upper primary, in lower secondary, in upper secondary and of successful candidates in the entrance examination to higher education. The detailed information used for the compilation of this table will be found in Appendix IV.

It will be noticed that the percentage of enrolment in lower-primary education is very close to the percentage of total population. As we have indicated, lower

TABLE 17. Population, gross domestic product and GDP per capita of the various regions of Thailand.

| | Population (000s) | | GDP (millions) | | GDP per capita |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | % | Amount | % | |
| North-east | 15 188 | 35.3 | 47 703 | 14.7 | 3 141 |
| North | 9 151 | 21.3 | 50 068 | 15.4 | 5 471 |
| South | 5 324 | 12.4 | 38 530 | 11.9 | 7 293 |
| West | 3 170 | 7.4 | 27 709 | 8.5 | 8 741 |
| East | 2 471 | 5.7 | 25 207 | 7.8 | 10 201 |
| Central | 3 350 | 7.8 | 48 828 | 15.0 | 14 575 |
| Bangkok | 4 351 | 10.1 | 87 067 | 26.7 | 20 011 |
| Total | 43 005 | 100.0 | 325 112 | 100.0 | 7 560 |

SOURCE National Economic and Social Development Board, op. cit.

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[1] Ibid, page 87.

TABLE 18. Percentage of total population and of enrolment in various levels of education.

| | Total population | Enrolment | | | | Successful candidates for higher education |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Lower primary | Upper primary | Lower secondary | Upper secondary | |
| North-east | 35.3 | 36.3 | 26.5 | 23.2 | 14.5 | 7.3 |
| North | 21.3 | 21.7 | 18.4 | 16.6 | 13.1 | 10.7 |
| South | 12.4 | 13.0 | 14.4 | 15.3 | 11.5 | 12.7 |
| West | 7.4 | 7.9 | 9.1 | 7.9 | 5.4 | 7.5 |
| East | 5.7 | 6.0 | 6.4 | 6.0 | 4.5 | 7.4 |
| Central | 7.8 | 7.8 | 10.6 | 10.7 | 8.1 | 6.1 |
| Bangkok | 10.1 | 7.4 | 14.5 | 20.3 | 43.0 | 48.3 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

primary is now nearly universal and there is little disparity between the various regions. It is normal, therefore, if the structure by age of the population is nearly the same in all the regions, that the percentage of enrolment in lower primary is close to the percentage of the total population.

One may be surprised that the percentage of enrolment in lower primary in Bangkok is *lower* than the percentage of the total population. That does not necessarily mean that access to lower primary is lower in Bangkok than in the other regions. In fact, there are three reasons which may explain this. The first is that Bangkok is a large city and its fertility rate is probably lower than in the rest of the country. The second is that Bangkok receives a sizeable inflow of migrants; the age-structure of Bangkok is consequently quite different from that of other regions. The third reason is that the rate of repetition is much smaller in Bangkok, so that enrolment is not inflated by a high proportion of repeaters.

The situation, of course, changes a lot as one goes up the ladder of the educational system. This is particularly clear in the North-east, where the share in total enrolment gradually decreases from 36.3 per cent for lower primary, to 26.5 per cent for upper primary, to 23.2 per cent for lower secondary, to 14.5 per cent for upper-secondary education, and finally to 7.3 per cent for the successful candidates to higher education.

In Bangkok one observes just the opposite; the share increases rapidly from one level to the other. In other words, the probability of gaining access to the various levels of education is quite different in the different regions, and disparities tend to increase rapidly with the higher levels of education. Figure 12 (on page 264) shows the Lorenz curves corresponding to the different levels of education and illustrates clearly how inequality in access increases.

One can also underline the fact that inequality in access follows closely the wealth (in this case, the relative share of GDP) of the various regions. In the North-east, the GDP *per capita* is the lowest and the probability of access is also the lowest. For the other regions, the ranking in terms of educational opportunity is the same as the ranking in terms of GDP *per capita*.

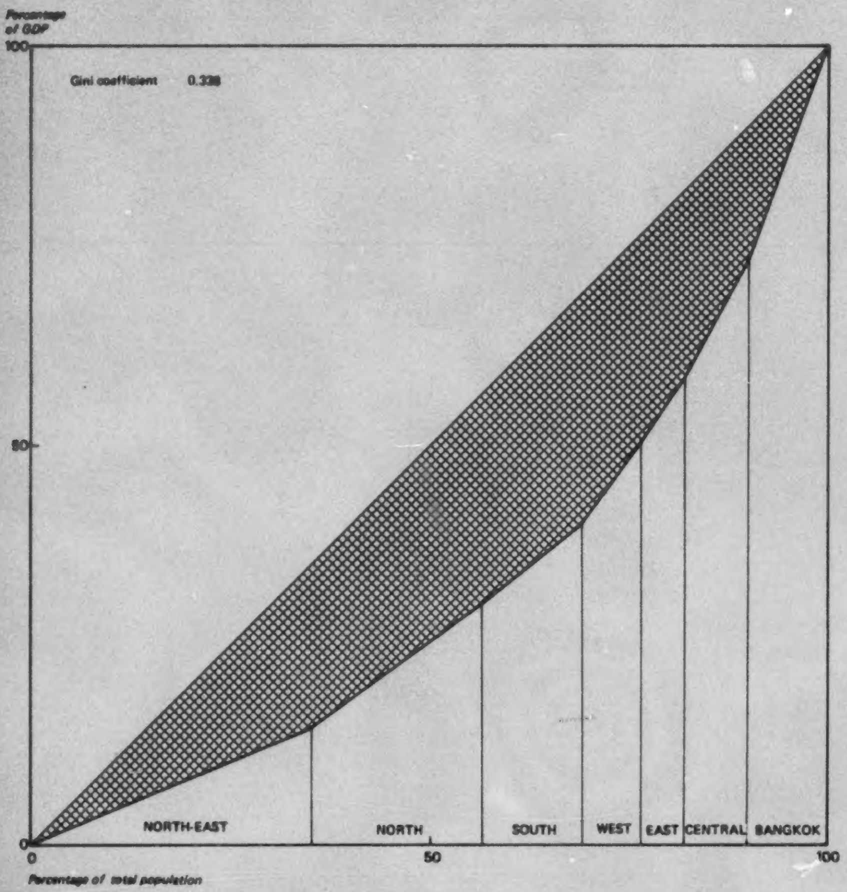


FIGURE 11. *Percentage of total population and percentage of GDP (Lorenz curve).*

The unit of analysis used here, namely the region, is quite large and of course there are intra-regional differences. In what follows we will try to see the kind of relationship one can establish at the provincial level.

## B. Disparities in education and disparities in economic and social development at the provincial level

### 1. *Indicators of economic and social development*

At the provincial level, the four indicators we will use as a proxy measure of economic and social development are:

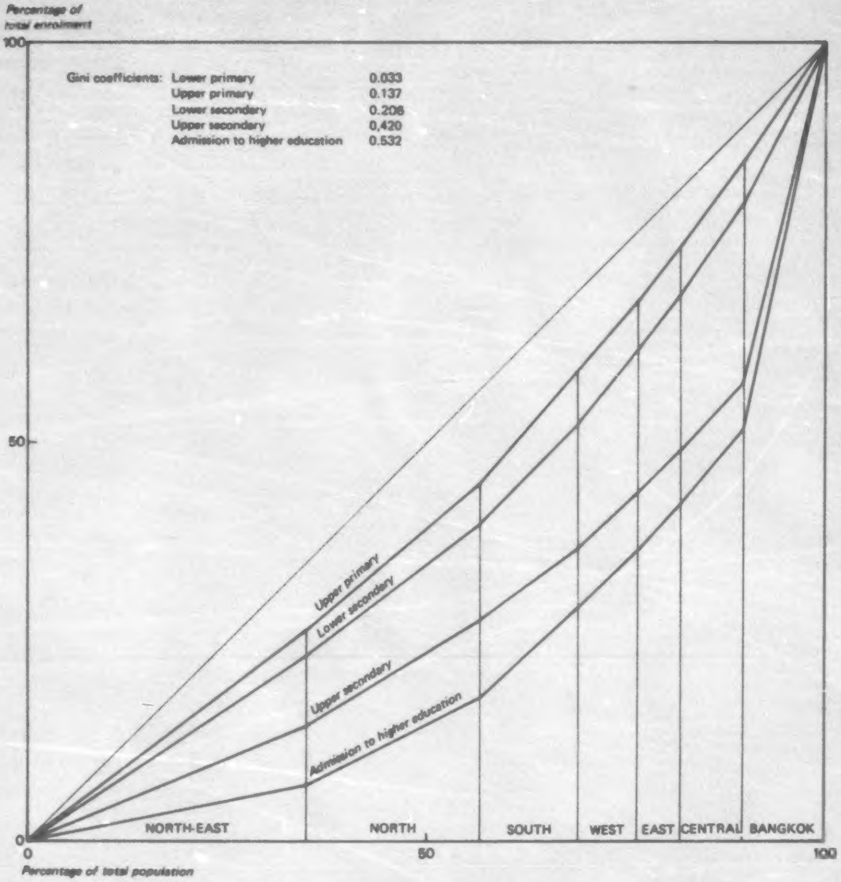


FIGURE 12. *Percentage of total population and percentage of enrolment in the various levels of education (Lorenz curve).*

- — the gross provincial product *per capita*
- — the rate of urbanization
- — the number of population per hospital bed
- — the percentage of voters.

*(a). Gross provincial product* per capita. Data about gross provincial product are prepared by the Regional and Provincial Accounts Section, National Accounts Division of the Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board. Figures used in our analysis are taken from a publication of that Office.[1]

---

[1] Regional and Provincial Accounts Section, *Gross provincial product, population and* per capita *GPP, 1974–1976*. Bangkok, ONESDB, 1977.

In 1976 the average GDP*per capita* for the whole country was 7,560 Bahts, but the range goes from 53,021 Bahts in Samut Prakan to 1,892 Bahts in Sisaket. The weighted standard deviation is 7,193.14 and the coefficient of variation is .951. This shows the very large differences which exist between the various provinces.

The geographical distribution of the province according to the GPP*per capita* is shown in Map 10. The provinces have been regrouped into five categories in the same way as was done in the previous parts of this paper.

The provinces of the North-east, with a few exceptions, belong to the lowest category. The provinces of the North belong to the category which is just above. Clearly, therefore, the North and North-east are the poorest provinces of the country. The South presents a very large range of situations. There one can find both the richest provinces such as Phuket Ranong or Prachuab Khiri Khan, mainly thanks to the mining industries, but also rather poor provinces, such as Narathivat, Pattani, Phattalung, Nakhon Si Thammarat and Surat Thani.

The Central Region, of course, is by far the richest region. This is particularly true for Bangkok and the neighbouring provinces Samut Prakan, Nonthaburi and Saraburi. There are, however, some pockets of less privileged provinces, such as Ang Thong or Prachinburi.

*(b). Rate of urbanisation.* This is an indicator which has already been used in Chapter IV, when we dealt with the problems of rural-urban disparity. We have, however, included this indicator in our analysis here because of its relationship with economic and social developments.

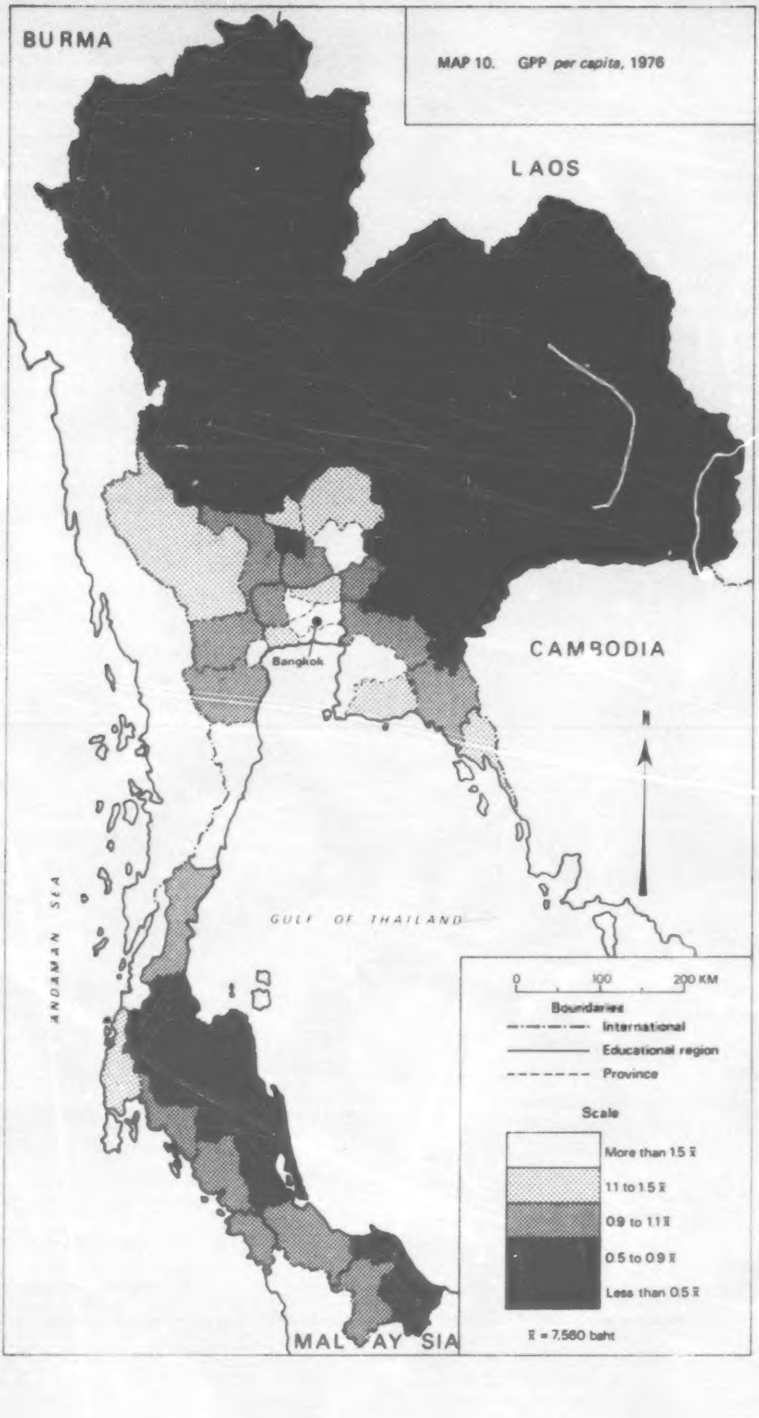
The rate of urbanisation has been computed on the basis of the 1970 National Census. The urban population is the population of all the municipalities (Muang municipalities, which are the provincial capitals, and Tambon municipalities, which are the other municipalities).

*(c). Population per hospital bed.* This can be considered as a proxy measure of the availability of health services in the various provinces. Data are taken from the provincial statistical reports published by the National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime Minister.

On average, the population per hospital bed in Thailand is 1,763. The range however goes from 141 in Nonthaburi (a province which is bordering Bangkok in the North) to 5,033 in Sisa Ket (a province in the North-east).

*(Id). Percentage of voters.* This is certainly an important indicator. It can be considered as a measure of the degree of interest or of participation of the citizens in the political life of the country. In Thailand the percentage of voters is rather low. As we will see, it is also difficult to interpret and does not follow the pattern which may be expected.

The percentage of voters has been computed on the basis of the information published by the Ministry of the Interior about the number of registered and of actual voters in the general election of 1976. For that election, the national


BURMA
LAOS
CAMBODIA
Bangkok
ANDAMAN SEA
GULF OF THAILAND
MALAYSIA
N
0
100
200 KM
Boundaries
International
Educational region
Province
Scale
More than 1.5 x̄
1.1 to 1.5 x̄
0.9 to 1.1 x̄
0.5 to 0.9 x̄
Less than 0.5 x̄
x̄ = 7,560 baht

MAP 10. GPP *per capita*, 1976

average was 43.8 per cent, with a range going from 85.3 in Kalasin (a province in the North-east) to 26.6 in Phetchabun (a province in the North). The percentage for Bangkok itself is also low: 29.1 per cent.

### 2. *Correlation between the variables related to economic and social development and the variables related to educational development*

The correlation coefficients between the variables related to economic and social development and the variables related to school characteristics and to access to the various levels of education are given in Table 19. In one analysis we have used the logarithm of the gross provincial product *per capita* and the logarithm of the population per hospital bed rather than the variables themselves; disparities for these two variables are very large and the logarithms yield a better fit.

*(a). Correlation between the variables related to economic and social development.* The variables we have selected as indicators of economic and social development are highly correlated. As can be expected, the gross provincial product is strongly associated with the rate of urbanisation. Population per hospital bed is also associated with the gross provincial product and the rate of urbanisation, although to a lesser degree; in the provinces which are richer and more urbanised the availability of health services is higher.

One interesting feature to notice is that the percentage of voters is negatively

TABLE 19. Correlation coefficient between variables related to economic and social development and variables related to educational development.[1]

| | Log GPP *per capita* | Rate of urbanisation | Log population per hospital bed | Percentage of voters |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Log GPP *per capita* | — | .7110[2] | −.4974[2] | −.5453[2] |
| Rate of urbanization | .7110[2] | — | −.5349[2] | −.5258[2] |
| Log population per hospital bed | −.4974[2] | −.5349[2] | — | .2652 |
| Percentage of voters | −.5453[2] | −.5258[2] | .2652 | — |
| Percentage qualified teachers primary education | .7845[2] | .8101[2] | −.5683[2] | −.5437[2] |
| P/T ratio primary education | −.4176[2] | −.2640 | .4932[2] | .0450 |
| Per-pupil subsidy provincial schools | .4910[2] | .6102[2] | −.5365[2] | −.0313 |
| Percentage qualified teachers secondary education | .8325[2] | .7590[2] | −.5559[2] | −.5441$_2$ |
| P/T ratio secondary education | −.2532 | .1394 | .3010 | .0224 |
| Rate of access lower primary | .1225 | .1425 | −.0277 | −.0195 |
| Rate of access upper primary | .6271[2] | .5239[2] | −.4613[2] | −.3585 |
| Rate of access lower secondary | .7398[2] | .7540[2] | −.6134[2] | −.4183[2] |
| Rate of access upper secondary | .7255[2] | .8664[2] | −.6293[2] | −.4438[2] |

1. The detailed correlation coefficient matrix is given in Appendix V.
2. Significant at the .001 level.

correlated both with the GPP *per capita* and the rate of urbanisation. The tendency, therefore, is to vote *less* in the richer and more urbanised provinces; as a matter of fact, Bangkok is among the provinces which have the lowest percentage of voters.

*(b). Correlation between variables related to economic and social development and variables related to school characteristics.* The percentage of qualified teachers both in primary and in secondary education is highly correlated with GPP *per capita* and with the rate of urbanisation, and a little less with population per hospital bed. This clearly indicates a strong preference for qualified teachers to be appointed either to richer provinces or to the more urbanised ones—which often are the same provinces. It is in the rural areas and particularly the more remote ones that less qualified teachers are to be found (see Figures 13 and 14).

In primary education, the pupil/teacher ratio is negatively correlated with the GPP *per capita*. That is to say, the number of pupils per teacher tends to be lower in the richer provinces. The association, however, is not very strong. In the case of secondary education, the correlations are not significant. In fact, there is little variation in the teacher/pupil ratio in secondary education between the various provinces, and these variations are not linked with the relative economic development of the province.

The association between the recurrent per-pupil subsidy to provincial schools and the GPP and the rate of urbanisation is interesting. As we know, provincial schools are those which are financed by the Division of Rural Elementary Schools in the Ministry of the Interior. All the provincial schools are in the rural areas.[1] The fact that the recurrent per-pupil subsidy is positively correlated with the rate of urbanisation and the GPP *per capita* means that the *rural* schools of the more urbanised provinces tend to be better off than the rural schools of the less urbanised provinces. In other words, there are sizeable disparities amongst the rural schools of the various provinces. It would seem that in the budgetary process, the influence of certain provinces (the richer and the more urbanised) is stronger than others.

There is clear evidence, in other words, that it is the richer and more urbanised provinces who have the better qualified teachers and who receive the higher per-pupil subsidy for the functioning of their *rural* schools. It is also in these provinces that health services are more available.

*(c). Correlation between variables related to economic and social development and access to education.* Correlation between access to lower primary and the indicators of social and economic development is not significant. As we have already mentioned, lower primary is now well developed and it is nearly universal in all parts of the country. The rate of access to lower-primary education does not vary much and its variation is not linked with the socio-economic indicators.

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[1] In the urban areas one finds the "experimental" and "demonstration" schools of the Ministry of Education, the municipal and the private schools.

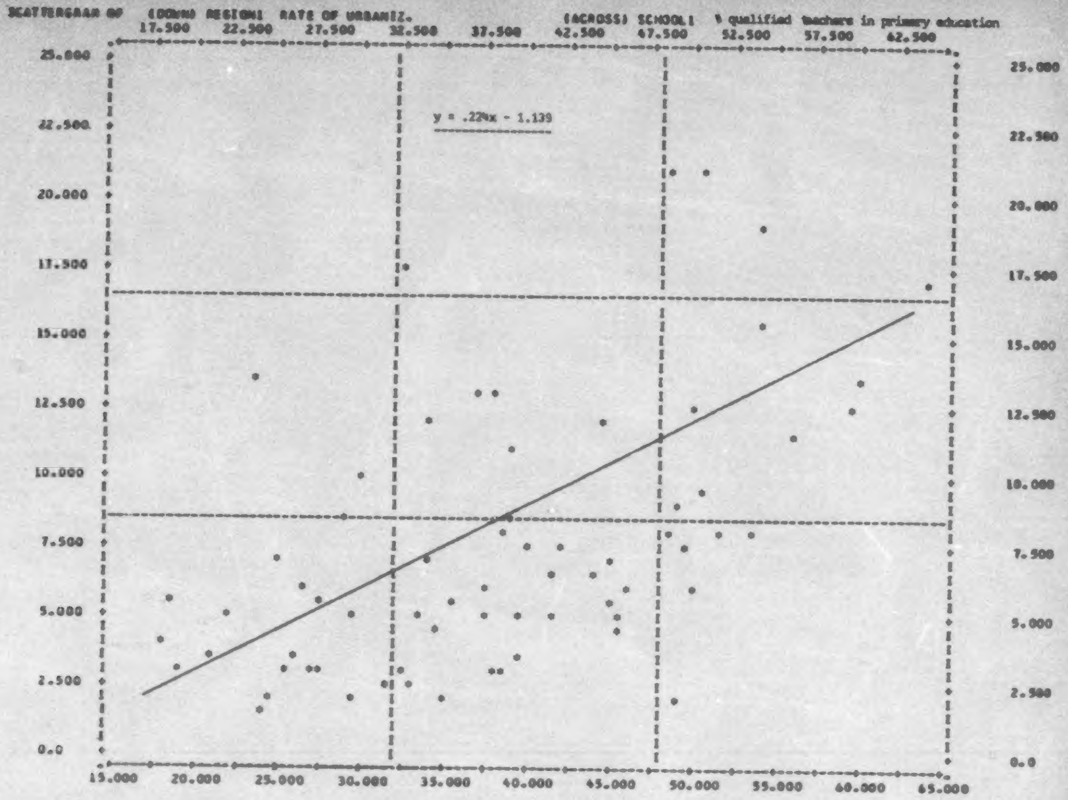

FIGURE 13. *Rate of urbanization and percentage of qualified teachers in primary education.*

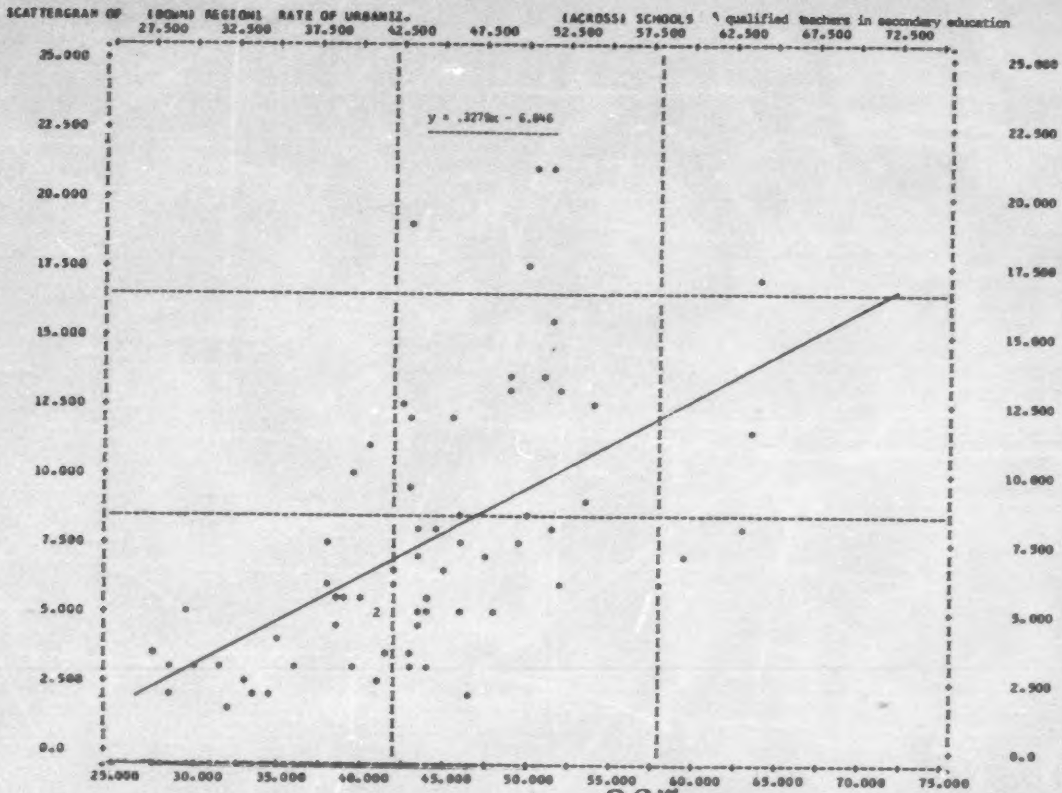

FIGURE 14. *Rate of urbanization and percentage of qualified teachers in secondary education.*

Starting from upper primary, but much more so for lower and upper secondary, correlation between the rate of access and GPP *per capita* or the rate of urbanisation becomes stronger. It is interesting to note that for secondary education, and particularly for upper secondary, the correlation coefficient with the rate of urbanisation is higher than that with the GPP *per capita*. As can be expected, secondary schools are mainly located in urban areas and more precisely in large cities. The probability of access, therefore, is higher in provinces which are more urbanised. Finally, rates of access are also correlated with population per hospital bed. In other words, those provinces in which the educational service is well developed are also those in which the availability of health services is higher.[1]

The above analysis gives ample and clear evidence to confirm the hypothesis that there are strong relationships between educational development and the level of economic and social development. It is in the provinces which are richer and more urbanised that education is more developed, both because the demand for education is larger and because the benefit which can be derived from education is higher. The hierarchical nature of the organisation of the educational system also leads to the location of secondary and higher educational institutions in more-populated areas, namely in large cities. The normal tendency, therefore, is a certain degree of disparities both for the urban and rural areas and for the various provinces which are at different degrees of development and wealth. This tendency suggests that policies aiming at reducing disparities are not easy to implement and require special efforts in order to be successful.

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[1] The detailed correlation coefficient matrix and some of the corresponding scattergrams are given in Appendix V.

# Conclusion

In recent years educational planners have become increasingly concerned with equality considerations in planning the development of both the elementary and secondary systems. The trend towards giving more weight to equality reflects a broader public concern about inequalities in the distribution of income and public services. Perhaps the most significant factor is the wider recognition that schooling serves society not only as an educational institution, but also as a mechanism to select and certify people for placement in a hierarchy of economic, social and political positions. More education means better chances for jobs, prestige and political influence. In brief, schools play a fundamental part in determining life's later options.

Thailand's primary schools play a particularly critical role in this respect, because at the end of four years of lower-primary schooling two out of five pupils are dropped from the school system. As a consequence, the future life-style of these pupils is more or less fixed—there is little chance that they will make much economical and social progress as adults. Since primary schools perform this selection task, it is only fair that children have equal opportunities to enrol in Grade 1, and that pupils of equivalent ability, irrespective of their school's location, have the same chances of advancing to upper-primary and secondary levels. If there are regional and provincial inequalities, as is now the case, children living in educationally deprived areas will have an unfair handicap in competing for jobs and social standing in later life.

As we have seen in previous parts of this study, disparities in educational development in Thailand present various aspects. From the point of view of access to education, as well as from that of school characteristics, provincial disparities show a consistent pattern, that of centre-periphery differences. Inequality in access to education is quite large and whilst Bangkok and the neighbouring provinces are in a very good position, the gap tends to widen as one goes from the metropolitan areas to the border provinces of the North-east, of the North and of the South. The gap also widens as one goes up the ladder of the educational system.

This particular pattern can be explained by many reasons which are linked to the historical development of formal education (which really started in Bangkok and then was gradually extended to the neighbouring provinces and to the whole country), to cultural differences between central Thailand and the border regions of the North-east, the North and the South (although central Thai is the official language and the medium of instruction in the schools, there are important minorities who speak only the vernacular languages, such as the hill tribes in the North, or dialects close to Lao, Khmer or Malay), to the economic development process since the reign of King Chulalongkorn, but more particularly since the end of World War II, which tends to concentrate the key activities in Bangkok and the neighbouring provinces.

In addition to this regional-disparities pattern, there are also important disparities between the rural and urban areas, as we have seen in Chapter IV. What should be underlined is that the situation is different in the rural areas of the various provinces. Here again, the rural areas of the central provinces are better off than the rural areas of the peripheral provinces.

Finally, there are strong relationships between economic and social development and educational development. It is the richest provinces and the most urbanised ones who benefit from better social services (health and education).

The Thai Government is well aware of the problem of disparities. Various research projects have been undertaken about this problem, among which three should be mentioned: the first was conducted by the Elementary Education Division, Ministry of Education, on 'The achievement of first grades as compared to elementary curiculum', in 1968; the second by the Division of Rural Elementary Education on 'The improvement of school finance practices in Thailand' in 1972; and the third by the Office of the National Education Commission, Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Education on 'Equality of educational opportunity: a study of primary schooling in Thailand', in 1974.

By the Royal Announcement of 31 March 1977, the National Scheme of Education stated:

> Equal opportunities should be given to all persons according to their abilities in applying for admission to any educational institution.
>
> For pre- and post-compulsory education, the State shall use appropriate means providing equal educational opportunity for the people according to their intelligence and ability, within the framework of relevant legislation.
>
> The State shall assist in upgrading the educational standards of every educational establishment, *wherever it is located.*[1]

In order to implement that policy, various measures have already been taken. The most significant ones are mentioned below.

It is clear that equalising educational opportunities and eliminating imbalances in the quality of primary and secondary education services are only partial solutions. In terms of government responsibilities, educational equality involves two factors: access to school, and opportunities to develop intellectual capacities and skills irrespective of the place of residence or quality of home environment.

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[1] Royal Announcement: The National Scheme of Education BE 2520, Bangkok, 1977.

Most people in Thailand have a low socio-economic status. About 80 per cent live in rural villages, with many more occupying slums in the big cities. Such low socio-economic status is a contributing factor to malnutrition and child-rearing malpractices. This affects access to the primary-school system and has been widely discussed since the student uprising on 14 October 1973. Two basic principles for the development of pre-school education have been proposed to the government: (1) the State should encourage municipal and provincial administration organisations and private schools to organize child centres or pre-school classes; (2) the Government should promote non-formal education, especially family planning, nutrition and child-rearing practices for parents.

It has also been suggested hat the training of pre-school children be the co-operative responsibility of families, communities and the State. Training for these children should stress social, emotional and intellectual development. Trainers could be selected from local villagers interested in this particularly, but they would have to be properly trained.

It is interesting to note that the national policy stated in the National Education Scheme reflects this concern:

> 16. The State shall accelerate and promote pre-school education. The responsibility will lie mainly on local district and private sectors. At this level of education, the State will only supply a model and do research on it.
>
> 30. Pre-school education aims at teaching the child before compulsory education, laying a suitable foundation for him to go on to the next stage of his education.
>
> Pre-school education may be arranged as formal or out-of-school education. It may take the form of nursery home, a child centre, and in certain cases a class for small children or a kindergarten.

At present, in the provinces where children speak languages other than Thai, such as Malay, pre-school classes have already opened in provincial schools. These pre-school classes help children to master language difficulties.

In addition, a few organisations, such as the Ministry of Public Health and the Departments of Public Welfare and Community Development in the Ministry of the Interior, have established child centres or nursery homes. These centres are organised both in rural villages and in city slum areas, and even in the vicinity of factories. It is expected that the availability of pre-school classes will be expanded in accordance with the Fourth Education Development Plan (1977-1981).

To reduce disparities in access to primary education, steps have been taken to distribute national subsidies to the provinces on the basis of relative provincial needs (as measured by admission rate—new admission to primary/age 7—and by transition rate from Grades 4 to 5). Provinces with low ratios, especially those in the North-east and North, are accorded priority. A phased programme of subsidies has been developed to enable them to catch up with educationally advanced provinces. This equalisation of capital allocations would not necessarily require budget increases, but only a more equitable budget

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allocation. Primary education, which is compulsory and free of charge, must also provide free of charge textbooks, exercise books and some materials.

Most secondary schools are located in urban and suburban areas and only the rural pupils from well-to-do families can continue their studies in those schools. To solve this problem the Department of General Education, Ministry of Education, has expanded secondary education to many villages during the last year.

At present examinations play an important part in screening weak students. Entrance examinations are normally used by the government schools for the selection of students to study at grade level 8 (Matthayom Suksa 1) and grade level 11 (Matthayom Suksa 4). These entrance examinations automatically eliminate most poor students from rural families, obliging some of them to study in private schools.

Thailand has followed a highly centralised educational system for an extended period of time. As a result educational syllabi, including teacher's manuals and student textbooks, have been developed solely by the Ministry of Education in Bangkok. Educational evaluation at different school levels has also been regulated by the Ministry of Education. This highly centralised regulation has resulted in the continued existence of 'end-of-year' examinations at most grade levels. At the upper-secondary level the passing and failing of students depends entirely on the end-of-year examination scores.

The policy of decentralisation of educational practices (to local and/or school authorities), especially educational evaluation, may help to solve the problem of the equalisation of educational opportunities, a problem which stems from complaints that the utilisation of the same curricula and examinations throughout the country is not fair to pupils from under-privileged families. The validity of this argument is supported by both the disparity amongst educational opportunities in the various regions and the disadvantages deriving from socio-economic status.

The restructuring of the curriculum to a course-work-and-credit system was introduced at the upper-secondary level in 1975. This has led to changes in the examination system, and internal assessment by the individual schools has been implemented in the school system ever since. It is expected that the curricula, including examinations, will be changed along the same lines at other educational levels.

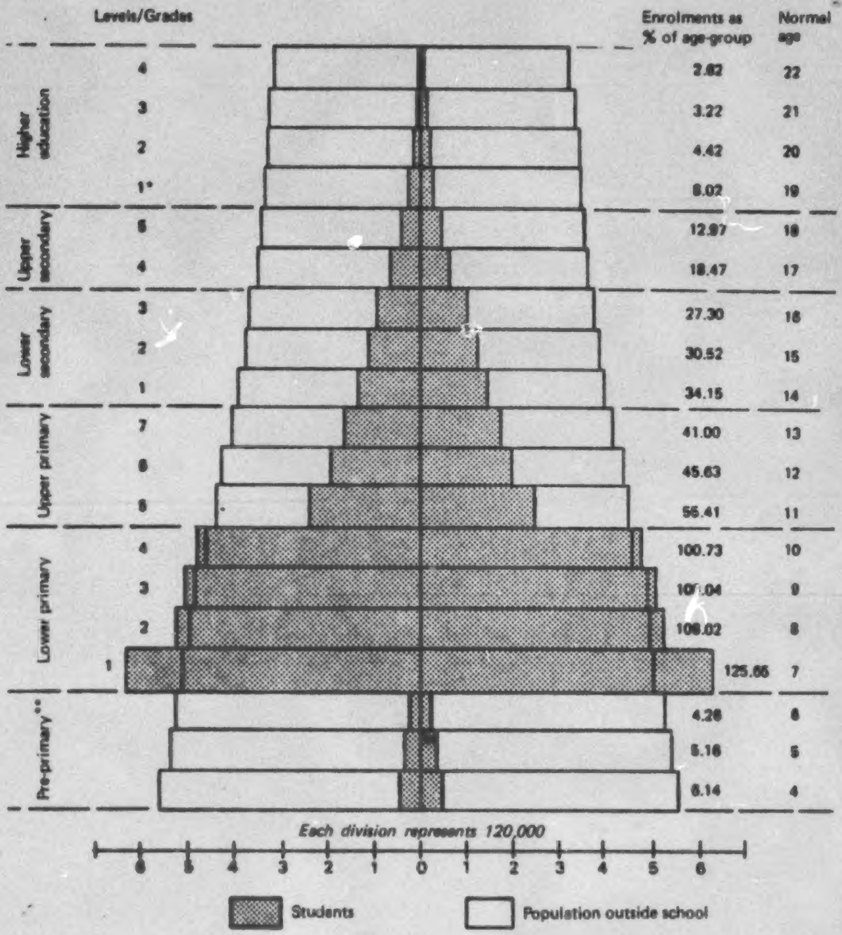
The selection function of the Thai educational system results in a large number of students dropping from the school system. Adult education, both formal and non-formal, plays an important role in responding to the educational needs of those who left school too early. Many adult-education programmes have been organised in the last two decades. Some of them emphasise general education, others vocational education; some are conducted from school-based units (both in rural and urban areas), whilst others operate from mobile training units. It is expected that during the Fourth Education Development Plan (1977-1981) approximately 1,380,000 people will attend adult evening classes under the general education programme.

# Appendix I

Figure I.1. Summary of enrolments and participation rates (1975)
Figure I.2. General education, primary (public and private), 1973
Map. I.1 Key to location of provinces.

## SUMMARY OF ENROLMENTS AND PARTICIPATION RATES

### The Education Pyramid, 1975

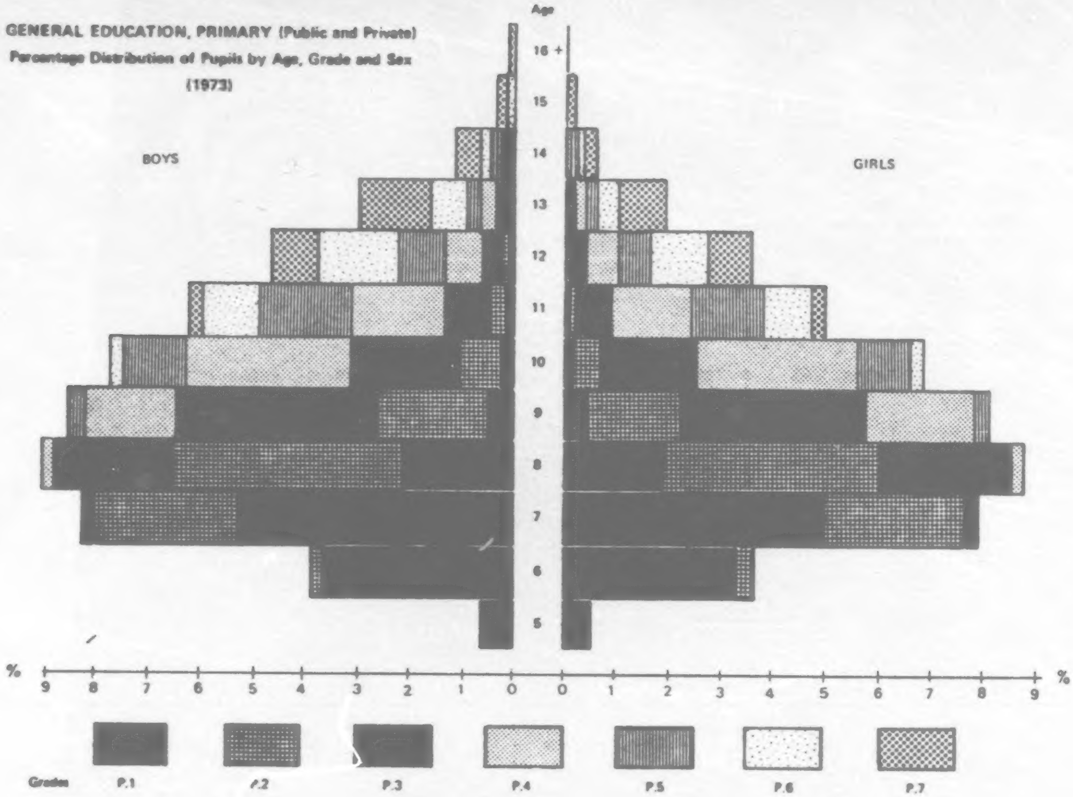


*MS6 students are counted in Grade 1, Higher

**Kindergarten 1,2; Pre-school 1

*Source:* Educational Planning Division,
Ministry of Education,
*Educational statistics 1975*

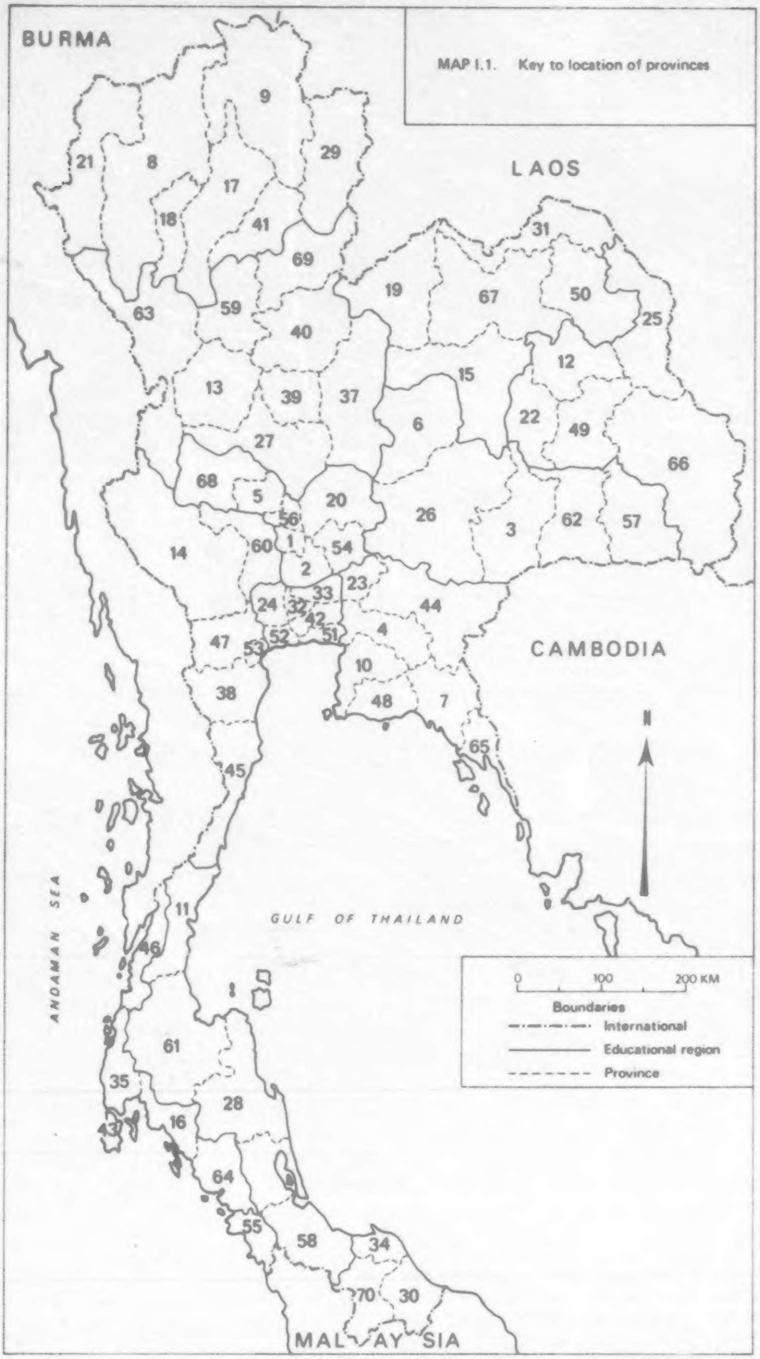
FIGURE I.1.



GENERAL EDUCATION, PRIMARY (Public and Private)
Percentage Distribution of Pupils by Age, Grade and Sex
(1973)

FIGURE I.2.

MAP I.1. Key to location of provinces


BURMA
LAOS
CAMBODIA
GULF OF THAILAND
ANDAMAN SEA
MALAYSIA
N
0
100
200 KM
Boundaries
International
Educational region
Province
9
29
21
8
17
18
41
69
31
19
67
50
25
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4
53
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38
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28
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16
64
55
58
34
70
30

*Key to provinces in chart on facing page*

1. Ang Thong
2. Ayutthaya
3. Buri Ram
4. Chachoengsao
5. Chai Nat
6. Chaiyaphum
7. Chanthaburi
8. Chiang Mai
9. Chiang Rai
10. Chon Buri
11. Chumphon
12. Kalasin
13. Kamphaeng Phet
14. Kanchanaburi
15. Khon Kaen
16. Krabi
17. Lampang
18. Lamphun
19. Loei
20. Lop Buri
21. Mae Hong Son
22. Maha Sarakham
23. Nakhon Nayok
24. Nakhon Pahom
25. Nakhon Phanom
26. Nakhon Ratchasima
27. Nakhon Sawan
28. Nakhon Si Thammarat
29. Nan
30. Narathiwat
31. Nong Khai
32. Nonthaburi
33. Pathum Thani
34. Pattani
35. Phagnga
36. Phatthalung
37. Phetchabun
38. Phetcharburi
39. Phichit
40. Phitsanulok
41. Phrae
42. Phra Nakon (Bangkok)
43. Phuket
44. Prachin Buri
45. Prachuap Khiri Khan
46. Ranong
47. Ratchaburi
48. Rayong
49. Roi Et
50. Sakon Nakhon
51. Samut Prakan
52. Samut Sakhon
53. Samut Songkhram
54. Saraburi
55. Satun
56. Sing Buri
57. Si Sa Ket
58. Songkhla
59. Sukhothai
60. Suphan Buri
61. Surat Thani
62. Surin
63. Tak
64. Trang
65. Trat
66. Ubon
67. Udon Thani
68. Uthai Thani
69. Utteradit
70. Yala

# Appendix II

## Provincial disparities in access to education

Table II.1. Distribution by province of some variables related to access to the various levels of education

Table II.2(a). Percentage of six-year old children attending school, by province and region, 1960

Table II.2(b). Percentage of seven-year old children attending school, by province and region, 1960

Table II.2(c). Percentage of eight-year old children attending school, by province and region, 1960

Table II.3(a). Percentage of six-year old children attending school, by province and region, 1970

Table II.3(b). Percentage of seven-year old children attending school, by province and region, 1970

Table II.3(c). Percentage of eight-year old children attending school, by province and region, 1970

Table II.4(a). Percentage of first-year students classified by parent's place of residence and by higher education institution

Table II.4(b). Number and percentage of first-year students classified by parent's occupation and higher education institution

TABLE II.1. Distribution by province of some variables related to access to the various levels of education

| | Access to lower primary | Transition from Gr. 4 to Gr. 5 | Access to upper primary | Transition from Gr. 7 to Gr. 8 | Acess to lower secondary | Acess to upper secondary |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Ang Thong | 95.0 | 79.0 | 76.1 | 81.6 | 50.8 | 7.1 |
| 2. Ayuthaya | 95.2 | 65.0 | 62.0 | 71.9 | 39.2 | 7.4 |
| 3. Buri Ram | 86.5 | 34.0 | 32.3 | 67.2 | 12.6 | 1.7 |
| 4. Chachoengsao | 91.9 | 60.0 | 52.8 | 71.5 | 30.5 | 7.9 |
| 5. Chai Nat | 90.4 | 57.0 | 50.3 | 70.5 | 29.2 | 2.5 |
| 6. Chaiya Phum | 92.4 | 66.0 | 62.4 | 79.9 | 23.1 | 3.8 |
| 7. Chanthaburi | 91.8 | 61.0 | 54.9 | 64.3 | 26.8 | 6.4 |
| 8. Chiang Mai | 78.5 | 50.0 | 35.8 | 75.6 | 20.8 | 8.8 |
| 9. Chiang Rai | 76.6 | 39.0 | 31.4 | 65.4 | 14.0 | 2.6 |
| 10. Chon Buri | 91.9 | 58.0 | 54.9 | 80.2 | 34.6 | 9.7 |
| 11. Chum Phon | 94.8 | 74.0 | 71.2 | 83.3 | 47.2 | 9.2 |
| 12. Kalasin | 94.4 | 53.0 | 51.1 | 76.5 | 27.7 | 2.8 |
| 13. Kamphaeng Phet | 81.8 | 38.0 | 32.5 | 71.5 | 12.7 | 1.8 |
| 14. Kanchanaburi | 85.2 | 79.0 | 72.7 | 66.5 | 25.2 | 3.4 |
| 15. Khon Kaen | 93.6 | 59.0 | 60.2 | 74.4 | 29.5 | 6.8 |
| 16. Krabi | 90.2 | 52.0 | 50.3 | 74.7 | 27.3 | 2.8 |
| 17. Lam Pang | 83.3 | 57.0 | 44.7 | 73.0 | 23.0 | 6.0 |
| 18. Lam Phun | 90.2 | 57.0 | 43.4 | 73.3 | 23.9 | 6.1 |
| 19. Loei | 86.7 | 53.0 | 52.3 | 62.4 | 21.9 | 3.3 |
| 20. Lop Buri | 86.8 | 57.0 | 46.8 | 77.4 | 28.2 | 6.7 |
| 21. Mae Hongsong | 41.8 | 67.0 | 30.5 | 64.3 | 11.7 | 4.4 |
| 22. Maha Sarakham | 94.9 | 52.0 | 55.5 | 76.5 | 27.7 | 10.3 |
| 23. Nakhon Nayok | 92.5 | 83.0 | 81.8 | 78.6 | 45.3 | 8.8 |
| 24. Nakhon Pathom | 93.1 | 96.0 | 93.0 | 66.2 | 39.0 | 6.2 |
| 25. Nakhon Phanom | 84.2 | 44.0 | 38.4 | 62.1 | 16.4 | 4.2 |
| 26. Nakhon Ratchas | 91.2 | 44.0 | 42.3 | 73.8 | 21.8 | 5.5 |
| 27. Nakhon Sawan | 88.7 | 63.0 | 49.4 | 70.2 | 23.5 | 2.6 |
| 28. Nakhon Si Tham | 92.5 | 61.0 | 57.6 | 87.4 | 40.5 | 6.3 |
| 29. Nan | 75.7 | 53.0 | 42.9 | 43.0 | 11.8 | 7.7 |
| 30. Narathivat | 54.7 | 56.0 | 34.9 | 59.5 | 12.0 | 4.1 |
| 31. Nong Khai | 83.7 | 51.0 | 49.9 | 71.9 | 20.3 | 2.7 |
| 32. Non Thaburi | 93.8 | 90.0 | 88.0 | 98.3 | 71.6 | 25.5 |
| 33. Pathumthani | 93.7 | 77.0 | 71.9 | 75.8 | 41.0 | 8.2 |
| 34. Pattani | 61.1 | 63.0 | 43.5 | 63.9 | 14.7 | 4.8 |
| 35. Phang Nga | 92.4 | 84.0 | 80.0 | 67.2 | 39.1 | 7.9 |
| 36. Phattalung | 93.8 | 58.0 | 56.8 | 90.2 | 42.0 | 12.0 |
| 37. Phetchabun | 80.9 | 45.0 | 35.7 | 78.7 | 17.7 | 3.6 |
| 38. Phetchaburi | 95.5 | 78.0 | 76.0 | 43.9 | 22.3 | 12.7 |
| 39. Phichit | 87.1 | 53.0 | 43.1 | 74.5 | 20.8 | 2.6 |
| 40. Phitsanulok | 89.9 | 60.0 | 49.8 | 75.6 | 24.6 | 7.1 |
| 41. Phrae | 90.9 | 55.0 | 47.3 | 74.5 | 30.2 | 7.2 |
| 42. Phra Nakhon | 92.0 | 89.0 | 74.1 | 92.4 | 57.1 | 21.3 |
| 43. Phuket | 92.8 | 89.0 | 83.7 | 76.6 | 52.6 | 26.2 |
| 44. Prachinburi | 86.5 | 41.0 | 38.7 | 74.5 | 21.4 | 2.8 |
| 45. Prachuabkhiri | 91.2 | 56.0 | 47.8 | 80.2 | 28.6 | 4.2 |

TABLE II.1. *(continued)*

| | Access to lower primary | Transsition from Gr. 4 to Gr. 5 | Access to upper primary | Transsition from Gr. 7 to Gr. 8 | Acess to lower secondary | Acess to upper secondary |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 46. Ranong | 90.1 | 80.0 | 83.6 | 76.2 | 37.5 | 8.7 |
| 47. Ratchaburi | 91.8 | 53.0 | 49.4 | 82.1 | 32.3 | 6.0 |
| 48. Rayong | 88.9 | 39.0 | 37.4 | 77.8 | 25.0 | 4.2 |
| 49. Roi Et | 95.9 | 47.0 | 44.8 | 61.4 | 24.3 | 4.6 |
| 50. Sakon Nakhon | 92.9 | 51.0 | 48.5 | 69.1 | 24.0 | 5.1 |
| 51. Samut Prakan | 90.6 | 93.0 | 90.5 | 74.9 | 48.1 | 11.4 |
| 52. Samut Sakhon | 91.2 | 83.0 | 78.8 | 58.4 | 30.0 | 7.7 |
| 53. Samut Songkhram | 93.3 | 99.8 | 93.2 | 55.7 | 37.6 | 10.7 |
| 54. Saraburi | 89.2 | 84.0 | 71.1 | 80.4 | 37.5 | 4.7 |
| 55. Satun | 80.6 | 61.0 | 53.4 | 72.3 | 23.4 | 5.7 |
| 56. Sing Buri | 94.9 | 95.0 | 90.9 | 84.0 | 60.4 | 8.1 |
| 57. Si Sa Ket | 85.6 | 55.5 | 54.3 | 58.9 | 15.3 | 2.3 |
| 58. Song Khla | 88.1 | 68.0 | 59.7 | 82.0 | 37.2 | 13.5 |
| 59. Sukhothai | 95.5 | 51.0 | 48.9 | 70.2 | 22.0 | 4.2 |
| 60. Suphan Buri | 92.6 | 47.0 | 45.3 | 70.2 | 23.6 | 3.3 |
| 61. Surat Thani | 90.8 | 58.0 | 48.8 | 82.5 | 34.9 | 7.3 |
| 62. Surin | 87.3 | 34.0 | 31.1 | 74.6 | 16.9 | 4.8 |
| 63. Tak | 77.8 | 65.0 | 50.1 | 70.9 | 22.5 | 6.3 |
| 64. Trang | 89.6 | 53.0 | 45.6 | 87.0 | 33.8 | 6.5 |
| 65. Trat | 92.7 | 79.0 | 74.6 | 68.6 | 30.6 | 2.6 |
| 66. Ubonratchani | 92.8 | 39.0 | 37.3 | 75.7 | 26.0 | 2.8 |
| 67. Udon Thani | 87.9 | 30.0 | 28.0 | 82.1 | 17.8 | 4.1 |
| 68. Uthai Thani | 86.6 | 72.0 | 57.5 | 65.9 | 21.2 | 3.8 |
| 69. Uttaradit | 93.7 | 76.0 | 72.8 | 73.8 | 31.5 | 9.6 |
| 70. Yala | 65.2 | 72.0 | 53.1 | 84.2 | 28.7 | 8.5 |
| $\bar{X}$ | 88.5 | 56.9 | 51.3 | 74.2 | 27.6 | 6.3 |
| $\sigma$ | 7.2 | 16.3 | 15.5 | 9.4 | 11.6 | 4.7 |

TABLE II.2(a). Percentage of six-year old children attending school, by province and region, 1960

| North | | South | | North-east | | Central | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nakhon Sawan | 8.19 | Phuket | 4.20 | Si Sa Ket | 5.15 | Bangkok | 16.80 |
| Mae Hong Son | 3.06 | Ranong | 3.10 | Udon Thani | 2.15 | Thonburi | 13.10 |
| Chiangmai | 2.58 | Narathiwat | 2.36 | Nakhon Phanom | 1.93 | Chonburi | 5.69 |
| Phitsanulok | 2.50 | Chumphon | 2.34 | Ubon Ratchthani | 1.92 | Samut Prakan | 5.54 |
| Phichit | 1.90 | Phang Nga | 2.00 | Buri Ram | 1.91 | Ayutthaya | 4.86 |
| Lampang | 1.78 | Yala | 1.94 | Nakhon Ratchasima | 1.68 | Chanthaburi | 4.68 |
| Sukhothai | 1.55 | Songkhla | 1.93 | Khon Kaen | 1.61 | Samut Songkhram | 4.42 |
| Uttaradit | 1.53 | Surat Thani | 1.82 | Kalasin | 1.57 | Trat | 4.12 |
| Chiangrai | 1.41 | Pattani | 1.75 | Nong Khai | 1.55 | Nonthaburi | 3.92 |
| Nan | 1.33 | Trang | 1.65 | Surin | 1.50 | Ratchaburi | 3.35 |
| Tak | 1.25 | Nakhon Sithammarat | 1.37 | Roi Et | 1.50 | Singburi | 3.20 |
| Lamphun | 1.12 | Phattalung | 1.27 | Loei | 1.31 | Lopburi | 3.11 |
| Kamphaeng Phet | 1.09 | Krabi | 1.12 | Chaiyaphum | 1.31 | Samut Sakhon | 2.83 |
| Phrae | 1.00 | Satum | 1.06 | Maha Sarakhram | 1.23 | Chai Nat | 2.78 |
| Phetchabun | 0.74 | | | Sakon Nakhon | 0.65 | Saraburi | 2.76 |
| | | | | | | Phetchaburi | 2.71 |
| | | | | | | Prachuab Khiri Khan | 2.36 |
| | | | | | | Ang Thong | 2.24 |
| | | | | | | Nakhon Prathon | 2.15 |
| | | | | | | Rayong | 2.14 |
| | | | | | | Chachoengsao | 2.12 |
| | | | | | | Prachinburi | 1.87 |
| | | | | | | Kanchanaburi | 1.82 |
| | | | | | | Nakhon Nayok | 1.81 |
| | | | | | | Uthaithani | 1.65 |
| | | | | | | Suphanburi | 1.63 |
| | | | | | | Pathumthani | 1.43 |

1. SOURCE: National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime Minister, *Population and Housing Census*, 1960.
2. $H = 20.22$. $P < .01$.
3. Value of national average is 2.13%.

TABLE II.2(b). Percentage of seven-year old children attending school, by province and region, 1960

| North | | South | | North-east | | Central | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Phitsanulok | 11.11 | Ranong | 19.00 | Kalasin | 11.62 | Bangkok | 34.32 |
| Mae Hong Son | 10.12 | Phuket | 16.10 | Chaiyaphum | 10.52 | Thonburi | 30.93 |
| Chiangmai | 8.99 | Surat Thani | 9.89 | Ubon Ratchathani | 10.49 | Ayutthaya | 26.18 |
| Uttaradit | 8.58 | Phang Nga | 9.45 | Roi Et | 9.91 | Samut Prakan | 15.87 |
| Lamphun | 8.32 | Chumphon | 9.21 | Maha Sarakhram | 9.89 | Rayong | 15.77 |
| Phichit | 8.14 | Trang | 8.35 | Khon Kaen | 9.56 | Samut Songkhram | 15.50 |
| Sukhothai | 8.06 | Nakhon Sithammarat | 8.16 | Nakhon Phanom | 9.53 | Chanthaburi | 14.90 |
| Nakhon Sawan | 8.06 | Phattalung | 7.16 | Udonthani | 9.32 | Chonburi | 13.78 |
| Phrae | 7.26 | Songkhla | 7.11 | Surin | 9.20 | Ratchaburi | 13.64 |
| Man | 7.25 | Narathiwat | 6.45 | Buri Ram | 9.09 | Trat | 13.20 |
| Tak | 6.97 | Krabi | 6.20 | Nong Khai | 8.49 | Singburi | 13.10 |
| Lampang | 6.79 | Yala | 6.17 | Nakhon Ratchasima | 7.55 | Nonthaburi | 12.47 |
| Phetchabun | 6.57 | Satun | 5.10 | Si Sa Ket | 7.49 | Lopburi | 12.44 |
| Chiangrai | 6.38 | Pattani | 5.08 | Sakon Nakhon | 6.62 | Phetchaburi | 12.43 |
| Kamphaeng Phet | 4.58 | | | Loei | 5.92 | Saraburi | 12.21 |
| | | | | | | Samut Sakhon | 12.18 |
| | | | | | | Nakhon Nayok | 10.58 |
| | | | | | | Ang Thong | 10.43 |
| | | | | | | Prachuab Khiri Khan | 10.22 |
| | | | | | | Chachoengsao | 9.96 |
| | | | | | | Chai Nat | 9.91 |
| | | | | | | Prachinburi | 9.12 |
| | | | | | | Kanchanaburi | 8.70 |
| | | | | | | Uthaithani | 8.21 |
| | | | | | | Nakhon Pathom | 7.51 |
| | | | | | | Pathumthani | 7.04 |
| | | | | | | Suphanburi | 6.64 |

1. SOURCE: National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime Minister, *Population and Housing Census*, 1960.
2. $H = 17.06$, $P < .01$.
3. Value of national average is 11.21%.

TABLE II.2(c). Percentage of eight-year old children attending school, by province and region, 1960

| North | | South | | North-east | | Central | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Uttaradit | 55.32 | Chumphon | 64.10 | Roi Et | 75.59 | Ayutthaya | 74.60 |
| Sukhothai | 46.71 | Phuket | 53.63 | Kalasin | 63.90 | Ang Thong | 65.75 |
| Phitsanulok | 44.03 | Ranong | 51.19 | Ubon Ratchathani | 62.60 | Phetchaburi | 65.36 |
| Lamphun | 40.13 | Phattalung | 47.96 | Maha Sarakhram | 58.40 | Thonburi | 65.23 |
| Phetchabun | 35.68 | Phang Nga | 45.13 | Chaiya Phum | 57.03 | Bangkok | 64.38 |
| Phichit | 35.39 | Nakhon Sithammarat | 41.89 | Khon Kaen | 55.03 | Chanthaburi | 63.38 |
| Tak | 34.84 | Surat Thani | 39.51 | Sakon Nakhon | 51.90 | Singburi | 57.46 |
| Phrae | 31.96 | Krabi | 35.04 | Nakhon Ratchsima | 43.27 | Samut Songkhram | 57.16 |
| Kamphaeng Phet | 28.64 | Songkhla | 33.61 | Surin | 43.03 | Nakhon Nayok | 55.40 |
| Chiangmai | 27.67 | Trang | 32.57 | Loei | 42.62 | Rayong | 54.06 |
| Makhon Sawan | 27.66 | Satun | 23.77 | Buri Ram | 42.22 | Saraburi | 53.71 |
| Nan | 27.01 | Yala | 18.10 | Mong Khai | 40.30 | Nonthaburi | 53.07 |
| Lampang | 24.98 | Narathiwat | 17.57 | Nakhon Phanom | 37.79 | Ratchaburi | 51.61 |
| Chiangrai | 19.90 | Pattani | 16.68 | Udonthani | 37.64 | Samut Sakhon | 50.32 |
| Mae Hong Son | 18.41 | | | Si Sa Ket | 36.11 | Chai Nat | 49.69 |
| | | | | | | Trat | 49.55 |
| | | | | | | Samut Prakan | 49.50 |
| | | | | | | Pathumthani | 46.04 |
| | | | | | | Lopburi | 45.63 |
| | | | | | | Chonburi | 45.27 |
| | | | | | | Prachinburi | 44.24 |
| | | | | | | Chachoengsao | 44.12 |
| | | | | | | Prachuab Khiri Khan | 43.92 |
| | | | | | | Uthaithani | 40.68 |
| | | | | | | Nakhon Pathon | 39.81 |
| | | | | | | Kanchanaburi | 39.43 |
| | | | | | | Suphanburi | 37.77 |

1. SOURCE: National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime Minister, *Population and Housing Census*, 1960.
2. $H = 25.14$. $P < 0.01$.
3. Value of national average is 49.11%.

TABLE II.3(a). Percentage of six-year old children attending school, by province and region, 1970

| North | | South | | North-east | | Central | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nakhon Sawan | 21.0 | Phuket | 24.8 | Buri Ram | 15.9 | Bangkok | 49.8 |
| Phitsanulok | 18.5 | Songkhla | 16.7 | Chaiyaphum | 14.6 | Thonburi | 41.9 |
| Chiangmai | 14.9 | Yala | 16.0 | Udon Thani | 14.6 | Trat | 30.0 |
| Phichit | 14.9 | Ranong | 14.9 | Si Sa Ket | 13.3 | Samut Songkhram | 30.0 |
| Lampang | 14.2 | Surat Thani | 14.7 | Surin | 13.3 | Nonthaburi | 28.8 |
| Phetchabun | 13.5 | Pattani | 14.5 | Nakhon Ratchasima | 13.1 | Samut Prakan | 27.5 |
| Kamphaeng Phet | 13.2 | Trang | 13.3 | Kalasin | 12.2 | Lopburi | 23.0 |
| Uttaradit | 12.2 | Satun | 12.2 | Ubon Ratchathani | 12.0 | Chachoengsao | 22.2 |
| Phrae | 11.8 | Krabi | 11.9 | Khon Kaen | 11.3 | Chonburi | 21.9 |
| Tak | 10.5 | Nakhon Sithammarat | 10.8 | Nong Khai | 10.3 | Uthaithami | 21.9 |
| Sukhothai | 10.3 | Chumphon | 10.4 | Maha Sarakhram | 9.5 | Ratchaburi | 20.7 |
| Chiangra | 10.2 | Narathiwat | 9.3 | Nakhon Phanom | 9.0 | Saraburi | 19.2 |
| Nan | 10.2 | Phattalung | 8.4 | Rei Et | 8.3 | Ang Thong | 18.1 |
| Lanphun | 9.9 | Phang Nga | 8.1 | Sakon Nakhon | 7.6 | Nakhon Nayok | 19.9 |
| Mae Hong Son | 7.4 | | | | | Ayutthaya | 16.8 |
| | | | | | | Singburi | 16.8 |
| | | | | | | Prachinburi | 16.5 |
| | | | | | | Samut Sakhon | 16.4 |
| | | | | | | Prachuab Khiri Khan | 16.3 |
| | | | | | | Chanthaburi | 16.1 |
| | | | | | | Nakhon Pathon | 15.3 |
| | | | | | | Kanchanaburi | 13.6 |
| | | | | | | Chai Nat | 13.1 |
| | | | | | | Rayong | 13.0 |
| | | | | | | Phetchaburi | 12.2 |
| | | | | | | Suphanburi | 12.2 |

1. SOURCE: National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime Minister, *Population and Housing Census*, 1970.
2. $H = 24.89$, $P < .01$.
3. Value of national average is 15.2%.

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TABLE II.3(b). Percentage of seven-year old children attending school, by province and region, 1970

| North | | South | | North-east | | Central | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sukhothai | 79.7 | Chumphon | 75.5 | Chaiyaphum | 73.6 | Samut Songkhram | 81.6 |
| Uttaradit | 75.4 | Phuket | 75.2 | Nakhon Ratchasima | 72.9 | Ang Thong | 81.5 |
| Phitsanulok | 73.6 | Krabi | 70.0 | Roi Et | 71.5 | Singburi | 80.2 |
| Nakhon Sawan | 69.6 | Surat Thani | 69.9 | Khon Kaen | 71.4 | Phetchaburi | 80.0 |
| Phrae | 67.7 | Nakhon Sithammarat | 69.1 | Maha Sarakhram | 70.6 | Ayutthaya | 79.5 |
| Phichit | 66.7 | Songkhla | 68.3 | Kalasin | 69.0 | Bangkok | 78.2 |
| Lamphun | 64.8 | Phang Nga | 67.5 | Surin | 65.9 | Thonburi | 78.0 |
| Kamphaeng Phet | 63.0 | Ranong | 66.5 | Ubon Ratchathani | 65.8 | Nonthaburi | 78.0 |
| Tak | 62.3 | Phattalung | 65.8 | Buri Ram | 65.4 | Trat | 77.6 |
| Phetchabun | 60.9 | Trang | 63.8 | Sakon Nakhon | 64.0 | Suphanburi | 76.4 |
| Lampang | 58.9 | Satun | 54.2 | Udonthani | 60.8 | Nakhon Pathom | 73.9 |
| Nan | 54.5 | Yala | 39.8 | Si Sa Ket | 60.5 | Pathumthani | 73.9 |
| Chiangmai | 53.1 | Pattani | 35.5 | Loei | 58.6 | Samut Sakhon | 73.3 |
| Chiangrai | 48.1 | Narathiwat | 23.3 | Nakhon Phanom | 52.9 | Nakhon Nayok | 73.2 |
| Mae Hong Son | 29.3 | | | Nong Khai | 52.2 | Ratchaburi | 73.0 |
| | | | | | | Chanthaburi | 72.6 |
| | | | | | | Chachoengsao | 72.6 |
| | | | | | | Chonburi | 71.6 |
| | | | | | | Chai Nat | 71.0 |
| | | | | | | Samut Prakan | 70.8 |
| | | | | | | Uthaithani | 70.8 |
| | | | | | | Prachuab Khiri Khan | 70.7 |
| | | | | | | Saraburi | 70.2 |
| | | | | | | Prachinburi | 68.3 |
| | | | | | | Rayong | 68.0 |
| | | | | | | Lopburi | 67.8 |
| | | | | | | Kanchanaburi | 66.4 |

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1. SOURCE National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime Minister, *Population and Housing Census*, 1970.
2. H = 20.83, $P < .01$.
3. Value of national average is 70.5%.

TABLE II.3(c). Percentage of eight-year old children attending school, by province and region, 1970

| North | | South | | North-east | | Central | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sukhothai | 95.5 | Chumphon | 94.8 | Roi Et | 95.9 | Phetchaburi | 95.5 |
| Uttaradit | 93.7 | Phattalung | 93.8 | Maha Sarakhram | 94.9 | Ayutthaya | 95.2 |
| Phrae | 90.9 | Phuket | 92.8 | Kalasin | 94.4 | Ang Thong | 95.0 |
| Lamphun | 90.2 | Nakhon Sithammarat | 92.5 | Khon Kaen | 93.6 | Singburi | 94.9 |
| Phitsanulok | 89.9 | Phang Nga | 92.4 | Sakon Nakhon | 92.9 | Monthaburi | 93.8 |
| Nakhon Sawan | 88.7 | Surat Thani | 90.8 | Ubon Ratchathani | 92.8 | Pathumthani | 93.7 |
| Phichit | 87.1 | Krabi | 90.2 | Chaiyaphum | 92.4 | Samut Songkhram | 93.3 |
| Lampang | 83.3 | Ranong | 90.1 | Nakhon Ratchasima | 91.2 | Thonburi | 93.2 |
| Kamphaeng Phet | 81.8 | Trang | 89.6 | Udonthani | 87.9 | Nakhon Pathom | 93.1 |
| Phetchabun | 80.9 | Songkhla | 88.1 | Surin | 87.3 | Trat | 92.7 |
| Chiangmai | 78.5 | Satun | 80.6 | Loei | 86.7 | Suphanburi | 92.6 |
| Tak | 77.8 | Yala | 65.2 | Buri Ram | 86.5 | Nakhon Nayok | 92.5 |
| Chiangrai | 76.6 | Pattani | 61.1 | Si Sa Ket | 85.6 | Chachoengsao | 91.9 |
| Nan | 75.7 | Narathiwat | 54.7 | Nakhon Phanom | 84.2 | Chonburi | 91.9 |
| Mae Hong Son | 41.8 | | | Nong Khai | 83.7 | Chanthaburi | 91.8 |
| | | | | | | Ratchburi | 91.8 |
| | | | | | | Bangkok | 91.4 |
| | | | | | | Prachuab Khiri Khan | 91.2 |
| | | | | | | Samut Sakhon | 91.2 |
| | | | | | | Samut Prakan | 90.6 |
| | | | | | | Chai Nat | 90.4 |
| | | | | | | Saraburi | 89.2 |
| | | | | | | Rayong | 89.9 |
| | | | | | | Lopburi | 86.8 |
| | | | | | | Uthaithani | 86.6 |
| | | | | | | Prachinburi | 86.5 |
| | | | | | | Kanchanaburi | 85.2 |

1. SOURCE National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime Minister, *Population and Housing Census*, 1970.
2. H = 7.13, $P < .05$.
3. Value of national average is 90.5%.

TABLE II.4(a). Percentage of first-year students classified by parent's place of residence and by higher education institution

| Parent's residence | Total | Kasetsart Univ. | Khon Kaen Univ. | Chula Univ. | Chiang Mai Univ. | Thammasat Univ. | Mahidol Univ. | Silpakorn Univ. | Prince of Songkla Univ. | Srinakharinwirot Univ. | MKIT |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bangkok | 47.73 | 44.87 | 17.98 | 61.49 | 30.89 | 59.37 | 58.18 | 54.22 | 17.48 | 34.30 | 51.09 |
| Central | 6.05 | 7.32 | 9.09 | 4.55 | 5.92 | 5.76 | 5.00 | 5.30 | 4.19 | 9.20 | 8.08 |
| North | 10.70 | 10.20 | 10.67 | 6.83 | 28.22[2] | 5.69 | 6.82 | 5.30 | 8.62 | 9.20 | 7.86 |
| North-east | 7.30 | 6.96 | 33.20[1] | 5.00 | 8.02 | 5.15 | 6.51 | 5.30 | 2.71 | 7.57 | 5.24 |
| East | 7.45 | 7.32 | 7.50 | 6.11 | 7.13 | 11.85 | 8.18 | 8.19 | 5.66 | 12.10 | 7.86 |
| West | 7.53 | 9.19 | 11.26 | 5.87 | 6.81 | 6.89 | 6.82 | 8.67 | 5.91 | 12.23 | 6.77 |
| South | 12.66 | 13.64 | 9.49 | 9.56 | 12.29 | 8.70 | 8.18 | 13.01 | 54.43[3] | 15.01 | 12.23 |

SOURCE Office of State Universities, Office of the Prime Minister, *Report on the Joint Higher Education Entrance Examination*, Academic Year 1974/75.
REMARKS (1) Khon Kaen University is in the North-east, (2) Chiangmai University is in the North, and (3) Prince of Songkla University is in the South.

TABLE II.4(b). Number and percentage of first-year students classified by parent's occupation and higher education institution

| Institution | Proprietor | Civil servant | Agri-culture | Employee | Others | Not specified | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Chulalongkorn University | 1576 | 582 | 72 | 412 | 180 | 69 | 2898 |
| | *54.38* | *20.08* | *2.73* | *14.22* | *6.21* | *2.38* | *100.00* |
| Kasetsart University | 734 | 302 | 94 | 164 | 60 | 39 | 1393 |
| | *52.69* | *11.68* | *6.78* | *11.78* | *4.31* | *2.80* | *100.00* |
| Khon Kaen University | 278 | 100 | 54 | 46 | 14 | 14 | 506 |
| | *54.94* | *19.76* | *10.67* | *9.09* | *2.77* | *2.77* | *100.00* |
| Chiangmai University | 880 | 357 | 87 | 147 | 55 | 44 | 1570 |
| | *56.05* | *22.74* | *5.54* | *9.36* | *3.50* | *2.80* | *100.00* |
| Thammasat University | 802 | 302 | 57 | 224 | 71 | 38 | 1494 |
| | *53.68* | *20.21* | *3.81* | *14.99* | *4.75* | *2.54* | *100.00* |
| Mahidol University | 386 | 107 | 29 | 85 | 28 | 25 | 660 |
| | *58.48* | *16.20* | *4.39* | *12.88* | *4.24* | *3.79* | *100.00* |
| Silpakorn University | 161 | 143 | 20 | 55 | 27 | 9 | 415 |
| | *38.80* | *34.46* | *4.82* | *13.25* | *6.51* | *2.17* | *100.00* |
| Prince of Songkla University | 220 | 72 | 51 | 37 | 9 | 17 | 406 |
| | *54.19* | *17.73* | *12.56* | *9.11* | *2.22* | *4.19* | *100.00* |
| Srinakharinwirot University | 349 | 199 | 108 | 94 | 25 | 18 | 793 |
| | *44.01* | *25.01* | *13.62* | *11.85* | *3.15* | *2.27* | *100.00* |
| King Mongkut Institute of Technology | 266 | 71 | 23 | 76 | 8 | 14 | 458 |
| | *58.08* | *15.50* | *5.02* | *16.59* | *1.75* | *3.06* | *100.00* |

1. Source: Office of State Universities, Office of the Prime Minister, *Report on the Joint Higher Education Entrance Examination*, Academic Year 1974/75.
2. Figures in italic are percentages.

# Appendix III

## Provincial disparities in school characteristics

Table III.1. Distribution by province of some school variables.

Table III.2. Pupil/teacher ratios in PAO schools, by province and region, 1975.

Table III.3. Pupil/teacher ratios in secondary schools, by province and region, 1975.

Table III.4. Number and percentage of primary school pupils by province and type of school, 1975.

Table III.5. Number of schools and average school size by province and type of school.

Table III.6. Pupil/teacher ratio in elementary schools by province and type of school.

Table III.7. Standard deviation (SD) values from basic skill test of 3rd grade pupils, classified by region and type of school.

TABLE III.1. Distribution by province of some school variables

| - | Percentage of qual. teachers in primary ed. | Pupil/teach. ratio in primary ed. | Grant per pupil in primary ed. | Percentage enrolment in rural schools | Percentage of qual. teachers in rural sch. | Pupil/teach. ratio in rural sch. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Ang Thong | 42.0 | 22.7 | 940.0 | 84.9 | 38.1 | 25.0 |
| 2. Ayuthaya | 50.3 | 25.1 | 937.0 | 83.7 | 42.8 | 22.0 |
| 3. Buri Ram | 34.9 | 33.2 | 600.0 | 97.0 | 28.6 | 27.0 |
| 4. Chachoengsao | 53.4 | 25.9 | 830.0 | 83.8 | 63.2 | 19.0 |
| 5. Chai Nat | 41.7 | 25.1 | 852.0 | 89.7 | 45.9 | 28.0 |
| 6. Chaiya Phum | 29.5 | 30.0 | 663.0 | 97.4 | 33.5 | 27.0 |
| 7. Chanthaburi | 37.1 | 26.4 | 803.0 | 80.2 | 51.9 | 22.0 |
| 8. Chiang Mai | 38.3 | 24.4 | 884.0 | 86.9 | 51.6 | 21.0 |
| 9. Chiang Rai | 25.6 | 35.0 | 516.0 | 94.5 | 39.6 | 21.0 |
| 10. Chon Buri | 56.1 | 30.0 | 719.0 | 70.4 | 63.4 | 21.0 |
| 11. Chum Phon | 41.5 | 25.8 | 844.0 | 92.4 | 45.1 | 24.0 |
| 12. Kalasin | 31.6 | 32.3 | 689.0 | 96.6 | 32.8 | 28.0 |
| 13. Kamphaeng Phet | 26.2 | 30.3 | 571.0 | 92.3 | 41.4 | 26.0 |
| 14. Kanchanaburi | 37.5 | 31.5 | 648.0 | 87.6 | 40.8 | 21.0 |
| 15. Khon Kaen | 38.0 | 31.4 | 653.0 | 91.3 | 42.9 | 26.0 |
| 16. Krabi | 26.7 | 21.9 | 884.0 | 91.6 | 38.0 | 21.0 |
| 17. Lam Pang | 24.8 | 26.4 | 725.0 | 90.3 | 43.3 | 19.0 |
| 18. Lam Phun | 39.5 | 26.9 | 839.0 | 95.5 | 43.1 | 21.0 |
| 19. Loei | 19.1 | 31.2 | 709.0 | 95.1 | 28.3 | 24.0 |
| 20. Lop Buri | 49.7 | 29.9 | 734.0 | 80.5 | 46.0 | 20.0 |
| 21. Mae Hongsong | 18.1 | 13.9 | 1 653.0 | 95.1 | 35.0 | 17.0 |
| 22. Maha Sarakham | 38.7 | 27.6 | 739.0 | 96.0 | 36.2 | 30.0 |
| 23. Nakhon Nayok | 45.4 | 23.9 | 897.0 | 90.4 | 47.8 | 23.0 |
| 24. Nakhon Pathom | 51.7 | 29.8 | 733.0 | 83.4 | 44.4 | 21.0 |
| 25. Nakhon Phanom | 20.8 | 29.4 | 698.0 | 95.5 | 27.6 | 23.0 |
| 26. Nakhon Ratchas. | 35.5 | 34.9 | 591.0 | 92.0 | 38.9 | 24.0 |
| 27. Nakhon Sawan | 40.0 | 32.3 | 684.0 | 84.3 | 49.3 | 24.0 |
| 28. Nakhon Si Tham. | 48.5 | 34.2 | 661.0 | 88.5 | 43.6 | 25.0 |
| 29. Nan | 18.3 | 21.9 | 908.0 | 94.9 | 40.2 | 23.0 |
| 30. Narathivat | 39.1 | 27.0 | 869.0 | 86.9 | 40.7 | 21.0 |
| 31. Nong Khai | 21.9 | 37.4 | 528.0 | 95.7 | 29.3 | 26.0 |
| 32. Non Thaburi | 59.5 | 22.0 | 992.0 | 66.1 | 54.1 | 22.0 |
| 33. Pathumthani | 49.1 | 25.8 | 815.0 | 87.3 | 46.4 | 22.0 |
| 34. Pattani | 48.9 | 25.5 | 1 009.0 | 88.9 | 53.4 | 21.0 |
| 35. Phang Nga | 29.9 | 22.0 | 941.0 | 86.3 | 39.3 | 23.0 |
| 36. Phattalung | 45.7 | 29.9 | 697.0 | 93.4 | 38.6 | 27.0 |
| 37. Phetchabun | 27.5 | 34.7 | 569.0 | 91.0 | 44.1 | 27.0 |
| 38. Phetchaburi | 60.2 | 26.8 | 878.0 | 86.7 | 48.8 | 21.0 |
| 39. Phichit | 34.0 | 22.8 | 806.0 | 87.7 | 47.3 | 24.0 |
| 40. Phitsanulok | 45.1 | 29.2 | 703.0 | 90.5 | 59.5 | 21.0 |
| 41. Phrae | 33.5 | 26.3 | 798.0 | 94.7 | 43.4 | 22.0 |
| 42. Phra Nakhon | 73.2 | 27.1 | ... | ... | 67.7 | 26.0 |
| 43. Phuket | 47.8 | 16.4 | 1 485.0 | 59.8 | 52.0 | 20.0 |
| 44. Prachinburi | 27.7 | 34.4 | 626.0 | 89.2 | 44.1 | 22.0 |
| 45. Prachuabkhiri | 33.9 | 26.7 | 719.0 | 77.4 | 45.7 | 26.0 |
| 46. Ranong | 32.7 | 17.0 | 1 240.0 | 78.5 | 50.0 | 19.0 |
| 47. Ratchaburi | 49.8 | 24.8 | 892.0 | 78.4 | 42.3 | 25.0 |
| 48. Rayong | 50.2 | 27.1 | 721.0 | 87.7 | 52.0 | 29.0 |

TABLE III.1. *(continued).*

| | Percentage of qual. teachers in primary ed. | Pupil/teach. ratio in primary ed. | Grant per pupil in primary ed. | Percentage enrolment in rural schools | Percentage of qual. teachers in rural sch. | Pupil/teach. ratio in rural sch. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 49. Roi Et | 33.2 | 30.6 | 637.0 | 96.2 | 41.2 | 29.0 |
| 50. Sakon Nakhon | 26.9 | 31.7 | 650.0 | 95.4 | 29.8 | 26.0 |
| 51. Samut Prakan | 64.1 | 38.7 | 802.0 | 66.6 | 64.1 | 21.0 |
| 52. Samut Sakhon | 50.3 | 25.9 | 811.0 | 74.1 | 50.6 | 20.0 |
| 53. Samut Songkhram | 54.0 | 19.5 | 1 307.0 | 69.4 | 43.2 | 21.0 |
| 54. Saraburi | 44.7 | 26.6 | 865.0 | 80.1 | 43.0 | 22.0 |
| 55. Satun | 44.2 | 21.2 | 1 040.0 | 91.6 | 41.8 | 19.0 |
| 56. Sing Buri | 45.0 | 20.8 | 1 045.0 | 85.2 | 38.6 | 22.0 |
| 57. Si Sa Ket | 24.1 | 35.1 | 592.0 | 96.8 | 32.2 | 24.0 |
| 58. Song Khla | 54.2 | 30.0 | 787.0 | 80.6 | 51.7 | 21.0 |
| 59. Sukhothai | 45.9 | 28.9 | 759.0 | 92.2 | 58.2 | 22.0 |
| 60. Suphan Buri | 39.3 | 26.3 | 804.0 | 91.7 | 44.2 | 24.0 |
| 61. Surat Thani | 39.1 | 27.2 | 790.0 | 88.4 | 46.1 | 24.0 |
| 62. Surin | 24.7 | 33.3 | 637.0 | 97.0 | 34.3 | 28.0 |
| 63. Tak | 23.7 | 23.3 | 845.0 | 81.6 | 51.0 | 20.0 |
| 64. Trang | 38.1 | 24.0 | 834.0 | 87.3 | 49.2 | 27.0 |
| 65. Trat | 29.1 | 21.1 | 947.0 | 86.9 | 50.0 | 20.0 |
| 66. Ubonratchani | 32.5 | 32.9 | 681.0 | 92.7 | 31.5 | 26.0 |
| 67. Udon Thani | 29.5 | 32.0 | 578.0 | 93.9 | 40.8 | 25.0 |
| 68. Uthai Thani | 37.4 | 25.5 | 978.0 | 95.0 | 42.1 | 18.0 |
| 69. Uttaradit | 34.6 | 25.8 | 797.0 | 90.8 | 43.4 | 23.0 |
| 70. Yala | 48.5 | 20.0 | 1 165.0 | 70.6 | 51.7 | 20.0 |
| $\bar{X}$ | 38.4 | 29.5 | 729.5 | 89.8 | 43.2 | 24.5 |
| $\sigma$ | 12.5 | 4.2 | 148.2 | 6.9 | 9.7 | 4.4 |

TABLE III.2. Pupil/teacher ratios in PAO schools, by province and region, 1975

| North | | South | | North-east | | Central | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mae Hong Son | 14 | Phuket | 14 | Maha Sarakhram | 28 | Samut Songkhram | 18 |
| Nan | 22 | Ranong | 16 | Nakhon Phanom | 29 | Trat | 21 |
| Phichit | 22 | Yala | 19 | Chaiyaphum | 30 | Singburi | 21 |
| Tak | 23 | Satun | 21 | Loei | 30 | Nonthaburi | 22 |
| Chiangmai | 24 | Phang Nga | 22 | Roi Et | 31 | Ang Thong | 22 |
| Uttaradit | 25 | Krabi | 22 | Khon Kaen | 31 | Ratchaburi | 24 |
| Phrae | 26 | Trang | 23 | Kalasin | 32 | Nakhon Nayok | 24 |
| Lampang | 26 | Pattani | 25 | Sakon Nakhon | 32 | Samut Sakhon | 25 |
| Lamphun | 27 | Chumphon | 26 | Udonthani | 32 | Chai Nat | 25 |
| Phitsanulok | 29 | Narathiwat | 27 | Buri Ram | 33 | Ayutthaya | 25 |
| Sukhothai | 29 | Suratthani | 27 | Surin | 33 | Uthaithani | 25 |
| Kamphaeng Phet | 30 | Songkhla | 30 | Ubon Ratchathani | 33 | Pathumthani | 26 |
| Nakhon Sawan | 32 | Phattalung | 30 | Yasothon | 34 | Phetchaburi | 26 |
| Phetchabun | 35 | Nakhon Sithammarat | 34 | Nakhon Ratchasima | 35 | Prachuab Khiri Khan | 26 |
| Chiangrai | 38 | | | Si Sa Ket | 35 | Suphanburi | 26 |
| | | | | Nong Khai | 37 | Saraburi | 26 |
| | | | | | | Chanthaburi | 26 |
| | | | | | | Chachoengsao | 26 |
| | | | | | | Rayong | 27 |
| | | | | | | Bangkok | 29 |
| | | | | | | Samut Prakan | 29 |
| | | | | | | Nakhon Pathom | 30 |
| | | | | | | Lopburi | 30 |
| | | | | | | Chonburi | 30 |
| | | | | | | Kanchanaburi | 32 |
| | | | | | | Prachinburi | 35 |

1. Source: National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime Minister and Office of the Under-Secretary of State, Ministry of Education, *1975 Statistics on Academic Stream of Education by Province.*
2. $H = 38.46$, $P < .01$.
3. Value of national average is 29.

TABLE III.3. Pupil/teacher ratios in secondary schools, by province and region, 1975

| North | | South | | North-east | | Central | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mae Hong Son | 17 | Ranong | 19 | Yasothon | 23 | Uthaithani | 18 |
| Lampang | 19 | Satun | 19 | Nakhon Phanom | 23 | Chachoengsao | 19 |
| Tak | 20 | Phuket | 20 | Nakhon Ratchasima | 24 | Samut Sakhon | 20 |
| Phitsanulok | 21 | Yala | 20 | Si Sa Ket | 24 | Lopburi | 20 |
| Chiangmai | 21 | Narathiwat | 21 | Loei | 24 | Trat | 20 |
| Chiangrai | 21 | Pattani | 21 | Udonthani | 25 | Nakhon Pathom | 21 |
| Lamphun | 21 | Songkhla | 21 | Khon Kaen | 26 | Samut Prakan | 21 |
| Sukhothai | 22 | Krabi | 21 | Sakon Nakhon | 26 | Kanchanaburi | 21 |
| Phrae | 22 | Phang Nga | 23 | Nong Khai | 26 | Phetchaburi | 21 |
| Uttaradit | 23 | Chumphon | 24 | Chaiyaphum | 27 | Samut Songkhram | 21 |
| Nan | 23 | Suratthani | 24 | Buri Ram | 27 | Chonburi | 21 |
| Nakhon Sawan | 24 | Nakhon Si-thammarat | 25 | Surin | 28 | Nonthaburi | 22 |
| Phichit | 24 | Phattalung | 27 | Kalasin | 28 | Pathumthani | 22 |
| Kamphaeng Phet | 26 | Trang | 27 | Ubon Ratchathani | 28 | Ayutthaya | 22 |
| Phetchabun | 27 | | | Roi Et | 29 | Singburi | 22 |
| | | | | Maha Sarakhram | 30 | Saraburi | 22 |
| | | | | | | Chanthaburi | 22 |
| | | | | | | Prachinburi | 22 |
| | | | | | | Nakhon Nayok | 23 |
| | | | | | | Suphanburi | 24 |
| | | | | | | Ratchaburi | 25 |
| | | | | | | Ang Thong | 25 |
| | | | | | | Rayong | 25 |
| | | | | | | Bangkok | 26 |
| | | | | | | Prachuab Khiri Khan | 26 |
| | | | | | | Chai Nat | 28 |

1. Source: National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime Minister and Office of the Under-Secretary of State, Ministry of Education, *1975 Statistics on Academic Stream of Education by Province.*
2. $H = 20.54$, $P < .01$.
3. Value of national average is 23.

TABLE III.4. Number and percentage of primary school pupils by province and type of school, 1975

| Province | Types of School | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MOE | PAO | Municipal | Private |
| *The North* | 20 440 | 989 887 | 26 537 | 56 942 |
| | *1.87* | *90..50* | *2.43* | *5.20* |
| Kamphaeng Phet | 793 | 60 028 | 1 019 | 3 224 |
| | *1.22* | *92.26* | *1.57* | *4.95* |
| Nakhon Sawan | 1 386 | 99 673 | 3 800 | 13 449 |
| | *1.17* | *84.25* | *3.21* | *11.37* |
| Tak | 2 047 | 26 023 | 2 764 | 1 073 |
| | *6.42* | *81.56* | *8.66* | *3.36* |
| Phichit | 923 | 53 568 | 2 592 | 3 986 |
| | *1.51* | *87.72* | *4.24* | *6.53* |
| Phitsanulok | 2 268 | 71 550 | 1 285 | 3 931 |
| | *2.87* | *90.53* | *1.63* | *4.97* |
| Phetchabun | 1 353 | 85 595 | 2 030 | 5 091 |
| | *1.44* | *90.99* | *2.16* | *5.41* |
| Sukhothai | 960 | 55 099 | 2 198 | 1 504 |
| | *1.61* | *92.20* | *3.68* | *2.52* |
| Uttaradit | 605 | 42 199 | 1 724 | 1 960 |
| | *1.30* | *90.77* | *3.71* | *4.22* |
| Chiangrai | 2 630 | 168 084 | 2 128 | 5 110 |
| | *1.48* | *94.45* | *1.20* | *2.87* |
| Chiangmai | 3 380 | 107 051 | 3 242 | 9 489 |
| | *2.74* | *86.92* | *2.63* | *7.71* |
| Nan | 1 083 | 45 514 | 949 | 495 |
| | *2.25* | *94.94* | *1.98* | *1.03* |
| Phrae | 1 063 | 48 464 | 679 | 948 |
| | *2.08* | *94.74* | *1.33* | *1.85* |
| Lampang | 1 100 | 78 014 | 1 298 | 5 991 |
| | *1.27* | *90.29* | *1.50* | *6.93* |
| Lamphun | 300 | 38 368 | 829 | 691 |
| | *0.75* | *95.47* | *2.06* | *1.72* |
| Mae Hong Song | 547 | 10 657 | — | — |
| | *4.88* | *95.12* | | |
| *The South* | 16 815 | 581 082 | 32 915 | 41 959 |
| | *2.50* | *86.37* | *4.89* | *6.24* |
| Pattani | 671 | 39 471 | 2 305 | 1 967 |
| | *1.51* | *88.87* | *5.19* | *4.43* |
| Narathiwat | 1 527 | 39 743 | 2 334 | 2 133 |
| | *3.34* | *86.89* | *5.10* | *4.66* |
| Yala | 1 770 | 21 089 | 2 425 | 4 573 |
| | *5.93* | *70.63* | *8.12* | *15.32* |
| Satun | 771 | 17 591 | 635 | 211 |
| | *4.01* | *91.58* | *3.31* | *1.10* |
| Chumphon | 434 | 35 061 | 508 | 1 962 |
| | *1.14* | *92.35* | *1.34* | *5.17* |
| Nakhon Sithammarat | 2 527 | 135 831 | 7 552 | 7 543 |
| | *1.65* | *88..52* | *4.92* | *4.91* |
| Phatthalung | 1 060 | 44 941 | 1 104 | 1 022 |
| | *2.20* | *93.38* | *2.29* | *2.12* |

TABLE III.4. *(continued)*

| Province | Types of School | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MOE | PAO | Municipal | Private |
| **Songkhla** | 2 323 | 75 572 | 5 742 | 10 121 |
| | *2.48* | *80.60* | *6.12* | *10.79* |
| **Suratthani** | 1 673 | 66 260 | 2 493 | 4 561 |
| | *2.23* | *88.36* | *3.32* | *6.28* |
| **Trang** | 932 | 45 817 | 3 076 | 2 632 |
| | *1.78* | *87.34* | *5.86* | *5.02* |
| **Phang Nga** | 660 | 17 867 | 1 372 | 797 |
| | *3.22* | *86.33* | *6.63* | *3.85* |
| **Phuket** | 992 | 8 487 | 2 076 | 2 629 |
| | *6.99* | *59.84* | *14.64* | *18.53* |
| **Ranong** | 654 | 8 536 | 914 | 768 |
| | *6.02* | *78.51* | *8.41* | *7.06* |
| **Krabi** | 821 | 24 816 | 379 | 1 066 |
| | *3.03* | *91.63* | *1.40* | *3.94* |
| ***The North-east*** | 24 771 | 1 781 404 | 33 258 | 40 835 |
| | *1.32* | *94.74* | *1.77* | *2.17* |
| **Khon Kaen** | 1 782 | 142 625 | 5 830 | 5 977 |
| | *1.14* | *91.30* | *3.73* | *3.83* |
| **Loei** | 935 | 50 245 | 756 | 884 |
| | *1.77* | *95.12* | *1.43* | *1.67* |
| **Sakon Nakhon** | 1 880 | 88 643 | 1 348 | 1 078 |
| | *2.02* | *95.37* | *1.45* | *1.16* |
| **Nong Khai** | 1 107 | 72 295 | 1 208 | 937 |
| | *1.46* | *95.70* | *1.60* | *1.24* |
| **Udonthani** | 1 452 | 172 383 | 4 797 | 4 920 |
| | *0.79* | *93.92* | *2.61* | *2.68* |
| **Kalasin** | 912 | 89 440 | 1 574 | 698 |
| | *0.98* | *96.56* | *1.70* | *0.75* |
| **Nakhon Phanom** | 1 916 | 85 787 | 1 467 | 621 |
| | *2.13* | *95.54* | *1.63* | *0.69* |
| **Maha Sarakhram** | 1 200 | 85 315 | 1 795 | 537 |
| | *1.35* | *96.02* | *2.02* | *0.60* |
| **Roi Et** | 1 430 | 116 798 | 1 508 | 1 650 |
| | *1.18* | *96.22* | *1.24* | *1.36* |
| **Ubon Ratchatbani** | 4 138 | 216 926 | 5 124 | 7 930 |
| | *1.77* | *92.66* | *2.19* | *3.39* |
| **Chaiyaphum** | 826 | 93 505 | 635 | 1 022 |
| | *0.86* | *97.41* | *0.66* | *1.06* |
| **Nakhon Ratchasima** | 3 220 | 199 497 | 4 091 | 10 061 |
| | *1.48* | *91.99* | *1.89* | *4.64* |
| **Buri Ram** | 1 556 | 129 163 | 1 540 | 855 |
| | *1.17* | *97.03* | *1.16* | *0.64* |
| **Si Sa Ket** | 1 034 | 125 418 | 592 | 2 541 |
| | *0.80* | *96.78* | *0.46* | *1.96* |
| **Surin** | 1 383 | 113 364 | 993 | 1 124 |
| | *1.18* | *97.00* | *0.85* | *0.96* |

*(continued overleaf)*

TABLE III.4. *(continued)*

| Province | Types of School | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MOE | PAO | Municipal | Private |
| *The Central Plains* | 48 941 | 952 918 | 198 716 | 344 765 |
| | *3.17* | *61.66* | *12.86* | *22.31* |
| Bangkok | 18 024 | — | 149 852 | 214 885 |
| | *4.71* | — | *39.15* | *56.14* |
| Nonthaburi | 1 898 | 24 432 | 1 971 | 8 660 |
| | *5.14* | *66.10* | *5.33* | *23.43* |
| Pathumthani | 977 | 30 151 | — | 3 392 |
| | *2.83* | *87.34* | — | *9.83* |
| Nakhon Pathom | 2 129 | 51 743 | 1 745 | 6 421 |
| | *3.43* | *83.41* | *2.81* | *10.35* |
| Samut Prakan | 416 | 35 417 | 3 379 | 14 002 |
| | *0.76* | *66.56* | *6.35* | *26.31* |
| Samut Sakhon | 1,633 | 21 521 | 3 419 | 2 457 |
| | *5.63* | *74.13* | *11.78* | *8.46* |
| Kanchanaburi | 2 259 | 52 037 | 517 | 4 618 |
| | *3.80* | *87.56* | *0.87* | *7.77* |
| Prachuab Khiri Khan | 1 813 | 32 542 | 2 192 | 5 478 |
| | *4.31* | *77.43* | *5.22* | *13.04* |
| Phetchaburi | 920 | 35 828 | 3 659 | 1 419 |
| | *2.20* | *86.66* | *8.75* | *3.39* |
| Ratchaburi | 1 793 | 55 927 | 4 069 | 9 555 |
| | *2.51* | *78.39* | *5.70* | *13.39* |
| Samut Songkhram | 444 | 15 417 | 2 520 | 3 837 |
| | *2.00* | *69.39* | *11.34* | *17.27* |
| Suphanburi | 1 081 | 71 543 | 1 990 | 3 444 |
| | *1.38* | *91.65* | *2.55* | *4.41* |
| Chai Nat | 1 117 | 32 190 | 900 | 1 670 |
| | *3.11* | *89.72* | *2.51* | *4.65* |
| Ayutthaya | 779 | 56 587 | 3 013 | 7 392 |
| | *1.15* | *83.50* | *4.45* | *10.91* |
| Lopburi | 1 683 | 58 544 | 2 520 | 10 004 |
| | *2.31* | *80.47* | *3.46* | *13.75* |
| Saraburi | 865 | 41 077 | 4 378 | 4 988 |
| | *1.69* | *80.06* | *8.53* | *9.72* |
| Singburi | 628 | 17 585 | 417 | 2 011 |
| | *3.04* | *85.19* | *2.02* | *9.74* |
| Ang Thong | 463 | 23 693 | 1 542 | 2 198 |
| | *1.66* | *84.93* | *5.53* | *7.88* |
| Uthaithani | 220 | 25 516 | 298 | 822 |
| | *0.82* | *95.01* | *1.10* | *3.06* |
| Chanthaburi | 1 722 | 27 928 | 1 568 | 3 624 |
| | *4.94* | *80.16* | *4.50* | *10.40* |
| Chachoengsao | 1 066 | 44 863 | 709 | 6 904 |
| | *1.99* | *83.79* | *1.32* | *12.89* |
| Chonburi | 1 527 | 57 561 | 3 779 | 18 892 |
| | *1.87* | *70.40* | *4.62* | *23.11* |
| Trat | 882 | 13 735 | 572 | 611 |
| | *5.58* | *86.93* | *3.62* | *3.87* |

TABLE III.4. *(continued)*

| Province | Types of School | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MOE | PAO | Municipal | Private |
| **Nakhon Nayok** | 713 | 21 378 | 528 | 1 028 |
| | *3.02* | *90.40* | *2.23* | *4.35* |
| **Prachinburi** | 2 412 | 69 713 | 2 204 | 3 867 |
| | *3.08* | *89.15* | *2.82* | *4.95* |
| **Rayong** | 1 477 | 35 992 | 975 | 2 586 |
| | *3.60* | *87.72* | *2.38* | *6.30* |
| **Total** | 110 967 | 4 305 291 | 291 426 | 484 501 |
| | *2.14* | *82.92* | *5.61* | *9.33* |

1. Source: National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime Minister and Office of the Under-Secretary, Ministry of Education, *1975 Statistics on Academic Stream of Education by Province.*
2. Percentages are shown in italic.

TABLE III.5 Number of schools and average school size by province and type of school

| | MOE School | | PAO School | | Municipal School | | Private School | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | Average | No. | Average | No. | Average | No. | Average |
| *The North* | 161 | 248 | 6 244 | 186 | 72 | 512 | 303 | 498 |
| Kamphaeng Phet | 3 | 675 | 305 | 198 | 3 | 312 | 14 | 332 |
| Tak | 21 | 203 | 184 | 159 | 8 | 384 | 6 | 267 |
| Nakhon Sawan | 1 | 1 723 | 639 | 193 | 7 | 755 | 76 | 418 |
| Phichit | 7 | 333 | 380 | 170 | 5 | 658 | 21 | 437 |
| Phitsanulok | 8 | 459 | 413 | 199 | 4 | 56 | 21 | 626 |
| Phetchabun | 4 | 366 | 432 | 209 | 5 | 52 | 26 | 316 |
| Sukhothai | 4 | 557 | 337 | 195 | 5 | 676 | 10 | 336 |
| Uttaradit | 8 | 117 | 286 | 181 | 3 | 984 | 13 | 523 |
| Chiangrai | 33 | 188 | 816 | 234 | 7 | 501 | 23 | 576 |
| Chiangmai | 32 | 152 | 877 | 156 | 12 | 431 | 49 | 662 |
| Nan | 8 | 250 | 338 | 159 | 3 | 507 | 4 | 525 |
| Phrae | 8 | 386 | 299 | 204 | 6 | 240 | 9 | 461 |
| Lampang | 9 | 303 | 543 | 174 | 4 | 520 | 25 | 638 |
| Lamphun | 4 | 272 | 273 | 179 | 4 | 362 | 6 | 723 |
| Mae Hong Son | 11 | 122 | 122 | 92 | — | — | — | — |
| *The South* | 89 | 376 | 3 912 | 179 | 90 | 511 | 339 | 417 |
| Pattani | 4 | 364 | 358 | 145 | 9 | 317 | 8 | 547 |
| Narathiwat | 6 | 416 | 319 | 155 | 9 | 350 | 16 | 272 |
| Yala | 11 | 336 | 201 | 136 | 10 | 341 | 18 | 556 |
| Satun | 3 | 384 | 136 | 150 | 3 | 337 | 2 | 107 |
| Chumphon | 2 | 302 | 263 | 168 | 2 | 471 | 20 | 304 |
| Nakhon Sithammarat | 15 | 333 | 733 | 212 | 18 | 545 | 111 | 367 |
| Phatthalung | 5 | 313 | 231 | 231 | 3 | 862 | 14 | 462 |
| Songkhla | 14 | 347 | 449 | 208 | 7 | 1 167 | 54 | 574 |
| Suratthani | 13 | 356 | 476 | 164 | 9 | 314 | 40 | 417 |
| Trang | 4 | 544 | 283 | 187 | 9 | 545 | 29 | 440 |
| Phang Nga | 4 | 437 | 147 | 169 | 3 | 668 | 5 | 226 |
| Phuket | 2 | 874 | 49 | 269 | 4 | 814 | 15 | 304 |
| Ranong | 2 | 425 | 70 | 144 | 2 | 647 | 4 | 369 |
| *The North-east* | 130 | 366 | 10 938 | 177 | 68 | 601 | 306 | 454 |
| Khon Kaen | 11 | 409 | 913 | 176 | 13 | 469 | 40 | 485 |
| Loei | 8 | 195 | 395 | 143 | 3 | 350 | 5 | 337 |
| Sakon Nakhon | 7 | 488 | 548 | 177 | 3 | 600 | 13 | 382 |
| Nong Khai | 12 | 101 | 385 | 201 | 3 | 469 | 8 | 402 |
| Udonthani | 9 | 330 | 976 | 178 | 5 | 1 075 | 32 | 578 |
| Kalasin | 7 | 558 | 480 | 199 | 4 | 441 | 12 | 331 |
| Nakhon Phanom | 13 | 210 | 594 | 158 | 3 | 588 | 6 | 325 |
| Maha Sarakhram | 7 | 594 | 547 | 170 | 5 | 468 | 15 | 469 |
| Roi Et | 5 | 679 | 717 | 173 | 5 | 341 | 21 | 324 |
| Ubon Ratchathani | 23 | 270 | 1 164 | 151 | 5 | 869 | 44 | 520 |
| Yasothon | — | — | 344 | 155 | 2 | 1 050 | 11 | 250 |
| Chaiyaphum | 3 | 559 | 567 | 180 | 3 | 394 | 14 | 526 |
| Nakhon Ratchasima | 11 | 635 | 1 112 | 201 | 8 | 596 | 52 | 528 |
| Buri Ram | 5 | 500 | 686 | 207 | 2 | 1 164 | 6 | 225 |
| Si Sa Ket | 3 | 586 | 86 | 174 | 1 | 1 011 | 16 | 335 |
| Surin | 6 | 107 | 724 | 175 | 3 | 592 | 11 | 393 |

TABLE III.5 *(continued)*

| | MOE School | | PAO School | | Municipal School | | Private School | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | Average | No. | Average | No. | Average | No. | Average |
| ***The Central Plains*** | 206 | 516 | 5 865 | 202 | 528 | 524 | 1 578 | 489 |
| **Bangkok** | 58 | 824 | — | — | 380 | 854 | 920 | 808 |
| **Nonthaburi** | 4 | 711 | 131 | 280 | 4 | 743 | 36 | 837 |
| **Pathumthani** | 5 | 423 | 172 | 829 | — | — | 17 | 873 |
| **Nakhon Pathom** | 5 | 594 | 244 | 289 | 2 | 1 177 | 32 | 491 |
| **Samut Prakan** | 2 | 402 | 135 | 831 | 7 | 670 | 46 | 557 |
| **Samut Sakhon** | 3 | 827 | 101 | 272 | 8 | 577 | 13 | 358 |
| **Kanchanaburi** | 15 | 177 | 320 | 183 | 2 | 393 | 18 | 371 |
| **Prachuab Khiri Khan** | 12 | 198 | 184 | 206 | 9 | 295 | 26 | 423 |
| **Phetchaburi** | 5 | 535 | 212 | 214 | 12 | 367 | 14 | 423 |
| **Ratchaburi** | 7 | 282 | 299 | 229 | 8 | 729 | 38 | 588 |
| **Samut Songkhram** | 2 | 529 | 96 | 256 | 8 | 459 | 21 | 384 |
| **Suphanburi** | 5 | 557 | 418 | 212 | 7 | 415 | 27 | 320 |
| **Chai Nat** | 4 | 553 | 218 | 190 | 4 | 291 | 7 | 338 |
| **Ayutthaya** | 8 | 418 | 411 | 181 | 10 | 444 | 17 | 359 |
| **Lopburi** | 4 | 606 | 383 | 186 | 6 | 479 | 7 | 586 |
| **Saraburi** | 8 | 198 | 347 | 147 | 10 | 469 | 12 | 513 |
| **Singburi** | 6 | 335 | 146 | 184 | 2 | 317 | 7 | 300 |
| **Ang Thong** | 2 | 712 | 159 | 211 | 9 | 266 | 21 | 348 |
| **Uthaitha[illegible]** | 2 | 503 | 211 | 143 | 2 | 267 | 6 | 623 |
| **Chanthaburi** | 9 | 282 | 198 | 161 | 6 | 357 | 10 | 603 |
| **Chachoengsao** | 2 | 808 | 285 | 202 | 3 | 434 | 36 | 424 |
| **Chonburi** | 6 | 316 | 298 | 230 | 12 | 453 | 93 | 446 |
| **Trat** | 3 | 307 | 118 | 138 | 1 | 812 | 4 | 240 |
| **Nakhon Nayok** | 3 | 377 | 168 | 163 | 4 | 294 | 11 | 317 |
| **Prachinburi** | 24 | 192 | 433 | 167 | 9 | 335 | 19 | 483 |
| **Rayong** | 2 | 692 | 178 | 229 | 3 | 356 | 19 | 371 |
| **National Average** | 586 | 388 | 26 959 | 185 | 762 | 529 | 2 256 | 476 |

1. Source: National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime Minister, Educational Planning Division, Office of the Under-Secretary, Ministry of Education, *1973 Final Report on Education Statistics*.
2. Pupils in private schools are both elementary and secondary.

TABLE III.6. Pupil/teacher ratio in elementary schools by province and type of school

| Province | MOE School | PAO School | Municipal School | Private School |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *The North* | 25 | 28 | 30 | 24 |
| Kamphaeng Phet | 28 | 30 | 34 | 23 |
| Tak | 21 | 23 | 33 | 22 |
| Nakhon Sawan | 28 | 32 | 34 | 23 |
| Phichit | 25 | 22 | 32 | 25 |
| Phitsanulok | 28 | 29 | 29 | 25 |
| Phetchabun | 28 | 35 | 32 | 24 |
| Sukhothai | 26 | 29 | 34 | 20 |
| Uttaradit | 23 | 26 | 32 | 22 |
| Chiangrai | 27 | 38 | 31 | 24 |
| Chiangmai | 24 | 24 | 25 | 25 |
| Nan | 23 | 22 | 33 | 22 |
| Phrae | 28 | 26 | 20 | 23 |
| Lampang | 22 | 27 | 25 | 26 |
| Lamphun | 22 | 27 | 31 | 24 |
| Mae Hong Son | 13 | 14 | — | — |
| *The South* | 25 | 28 | 32 | 23 |
| Pattani | 21 | 25 | 30 | 20 |
| Narathiwat | 25 | 27 | 30 | 23 |
| Yala | 24 | 19 | 27 | 24 |
| Satun | 21 | 21 | 34 | 18 |
| Chumphon | 26 | 26 | 28 | 24 |
| Nakhon Sithammarat | 27 | 34 | 36 | 21 |
| Phatthalung | 23 | 30 | 32 | 22 |
| Songkhla | 23 | 30 | 20 | 25 |
| Suratthani | 27 | 27 | 12 | 24 |
| Trang | 30 | 23 | 29 | 21 |
| Phang Nga | 23 | 22 | 25 | 20 |
| Phuket | 27 | 14 | 28 | 22 |
| Ranong | 24 | 16 | 31 | 24 |
| Krabi | 26 | 22 | 30 | 26 |
| *The North-east* | 27 | 32 | 35 | 21 |
| Khon Kaen | 24 | 31 | 35 | 23 |
| Loei | 26 | 30 | 33 | 23 |
| Sakon Nakhon | 29 | 32 | 32 | 19 |
| Nong Khai | 36 | 37 | 39 | 21 |
| Udonthani | 24 | 32 | 42 | 22 |
| Kalasin | 25 | 32 | 42 | 17 |
| Nakhon Phanom | 27 | 29 | 31 | 17 |
| Maha Sarakhram | 25 | 28 | 31 | 22 |
| Roi Et | 28 | 31 | 33 | 19 |
| Ubon Ratchathani | 26 | 23 | 37 | 21 |
| Yasothon | — | 34 | 37 | 19 |
| Chaiyaphum | 29 | 30 | 28 | 18 |
| Nakhon Ratchasima | 25 | 35 | 34 | 24 |
| Buri Ram | 28 | 33 | 38 | 17 |
| Si Sa Ket | 39 | 35 | 42 | 22 |
| Surin | 37 | 33 | 28 | 20 |

TABLE III.6. *(continued)*

| Province | MOE School | PAO School | Municipal School | Private School |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *The Central Plains* | 25 | 25 | 31 | 25 |
| Bangkok | 22 | — | 29 | 24 |
| Nonthaburi | 20 | 22 | 32 | 25 |
| Pathumthani | 24 | 26 | — | 24 |
| Nakhon Pathom | 25 | 30 | 30 | 25 |
| Samut Prakan | 17 | 29 | 35 | 25 |
| Samut Sakhon | 28 | 25 | 30 | 21 |
| Kanchanaburi | 23 | 32 | 28 | 24 |
| Prachuab Khiri Khan | 28 | 26 | 31 | 22 |
| Phetchaburi | 31 | 26 | 34 | 22 |
| Ratchaburi | 26 | 24 | 32 | 25 |
| Samut Songkhram | 22 | 28 | 29 | 21 |
| Suphanburi | 24 | 26 | 34 | 21 |
| Chai Nat | 26 | 25 | 28 | 24 |
| Ayutthaya | 25 | 25 | 29 | 21 |
| Lopburi | 22 | 30 | 35 | 26 |
| Saraburi | 27 | 26 | 33 | 24 |
| Singburi | 23 | 21 | 24 | 20 |
| Ang Thong | 26 | 22 | 29 | 18 |
| Uthaithani | 26 | 26 | 21 | 22 |
| Chanthaburi | 25 | 26 | 29 | 27 |
| Chachoengsao | 29 | 26 | 21 | 24 |
| Chonburi | 19 | 30 | 33 | 25 |
| Trat | 22 | 21 | 34 | 23 |
| Nakhon Nayok | 19 | 24 | 31 | 20 |
| Prachinburi | 27 | 35 | 31 | 23 |
| Rayong | 24 | 27 | 34 | 22 |
| National Average | 26 | 30 | 32 | 25 |

SOURCE National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime Minister and Office of the Under-Secretary, Ministry of Education, *1975 Statistics on Academic Stream of Education by Province*.

TABLE III.7. Standard deviation (SD) values from basic skill test of 3rd grade pupils, classified by region and type of school

| Region and test | Type of school | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Private | MOE | Municipal | Provincial |
| **Bangkok** | | | | |
| Post-test | 16.0 | 16.9 | 18.6 | 19.2 |
| Pre-test | 15.7 | 17.6 | 15.9 | 15.4 |
| Differences | 0.3 | −0.7 | 2.7 | 3.8 |
| **Central Plain** | | | | |
| Post-test | 17.8 | 20.2 | 17.0 | 16.6 |
| Pre-test | 16.2 | 16.4 | 13.0 | 11.9 |
| Differences | 1.6 | 3.8 | 4.0 | 4.7 |
| **South** | | | | |
| Post-test | 16.5 | 17.6 | 17.9 | 15.6 |
| Pre-test | 14.2 | 15.2 | 12.2 | 10.8 |
| Differences | 2.3 | 2.4 | 5.7 | 4.8 |
| **North** | | | | |
| Post-test | 15.6 | 17.4 | 16.3 | 14.9 |
| Pre-test | 14.8 | 16.7 | 12.6 | 10.3 |
| Differences | 0.8 | 0.7 | 3.7 | 4.6 |
| **North-east** | | | | |
| Post-test | 21.6 | 20.2 | 18.4 | 14.0 |
| Pre-test | 17.5 | 15.7 | 13.7 | 9.6 |
| Differences | 3.1 | 4.5 | 4.7 | 4.4 |

SOURCE Office of the National Education Commission: Office of the Prime Minister, *A study of primary schooling in Thailand*, 1974.

# Appendix IV

## Disparities in education and disparities in economic and social development

Table IV.1. Distribution by province of selected variables related to economic and social development

Table IV.2. Distribution of population, gross provincial product, and enrolment

TABLE IV.1. Distribution by province of selected variables related to economic and social development

| | Rate of urbanization | Population per hospital bed | GDP per capita | Percentage of voters | Population per medical doctor | Electricity consumption per head |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Ang Thong | 7.3 | 1 201.0 | 6 545.0 | 48.1 | 40.4 | 13.7 |
| 2. Ayuthaya | 9.4 | 2 261.0 | 7 062.0 | 46.9 | 75.2 | 19.2 |
| 3. Buri Ram | 2.1 | 3 196.0 | 2 956.0 | 45.2 | 111.1 | 3.7 |
| 4. Chachoengsao | 7.8 | 2 020.0 | 7 184.0 | 48.3 | 73.4 | 15.1 |
| 5. Chai Nat | 5.1 | 1 347.0 | 6 575.0 | 47.7 | 52.3 | 11.7 |
| 6. Chaiya Phum | 2.0 | 2 709.0 | 3 341.0 | 43.6 | 105.7 | 4.4 |
| 7. Chanthaburi | 12.8 | 738.0 | 7 755.0 | 54.0 | 11.7 | 24.9 |
| 8. Chiang Mai | 8.2 | 754.0 | 6 700.0 | 51.0 | 6.0 | 23.5 |
| 9. Chiang Rai | 3.1 | 1 737.0 | 3 251.0 | 60.1 | 63.7 | 5.7 |
| 10. Chon Buri | 11.7 | 843.0 | 17 577.0 | 48.0 | 37.5 | 26.9 |
| 11. Chum Phon | 6.7 | 1 217.0 | 7 264.0 | 41.2 | 47.4 | 12.0 |
| 12. Kalasin | 2.6 | 3 200.0 | 2 807.0 | 85.3 | 97.8 | 4.6 |
| 13. Kamphaeng Phet | 3.6 | 1 936.0 | 5 122.0 | 28.3 | 80.3 | 4.7 |
| 14. Kanchanaburi | 5.0 | 1 934.0 | 8 644.0 | 37.8 | 40.8 | 12.0 |
| 15. Khon Kaen | 3.0 | 1 721.0 | 3 464.0 | 49.0 | 46.0 | 15.8 |
| 16. Krabi | 5.9 | 1 524.0 | 7 703.0 | 50.3 | 34.7 | 8.6 |
| 17. Lam Pang | 6.9 | 1 375.0 | 6 089.0 | 55.9 | 30.3 | 17.0 |
| 18. Lam Phun | 3.6 | 1 736.0 | 4 665.0 | 55.1 | 67.4 | 7.6 |
| 19. Loei | 3.1 | 2 110.0 | 3 426.0 | 51.4 | 97.2 | 6.4 |
| 20. Lop Buri | 7.7 | 1 326.0 | 9 067.0 | 35.6 | 35.1 | 15.9 |
| 21. Mae Hongsong | 3.8 | 2 004.0 | 5 725.0 | 39.4 | 34.7 | 8.5 |
| 22. Maha Sarakham | 3.2 | 2 701.0 | 2 580.0 | 56.5 | 86.1 | 5.0 |
| 23. Nakhon Nayok | 5.0 | 619.0 | 7 424.0 | 39.6 | 27.8 | 9.9 |
| 24. Nakhon Pathom | 8.2 | 1 582.0 | 6 891.0 | 40.9 | 55.5 | 18.9 |
| 25. Nakhon Phanom | 3.6 | 1 647.0 | 3 459.0 | 63.5 | 75.4 | 14.0 |
| 26. Nakhon Ratchas | 5.6 | 1 915.0 | 3 941.0 | 38.3 | 38.4 | 19.7 |
| 27. Nakhon Sawan | 7.7 | 1 869.0 | 6 430.0 | 34.8 | 59.6 | 9.2 |
| 28. Nakhon Si Tham | 7.9 | 3 371.0 | 4 699.0 | 36.3 | 146.2 | 92.1 |
| 29. Nan | 5.7 | 1 285.0 | 3 852.0 | 52.5 | 37.7 | 5.6 |
| 30. Narathivat | 11.1 | 1 028.0 | 4 726.0 | 49.2 | 29.2 | 7.3 |
| 31. Nong Khai | 4.8 | 2 077.0 | 4 267.0 | 38.8 | 93.8 | 10.8 |
| 32. Non Thaburi | 12.6 | 141.0 | 11 921.0 | 37.0 | 17.8 | 18.9 |
| 33. Pathumthani | 1.9 | 456.0 | 9 792.0 | 49.7 | 22.1 | 14.3 |
| 34. Pattani | 8.9 | 1 702.0 | 3 897.0 | 40.5 | 57.1 | 2.7 |
| 35. Phang Nga | 10.0 | 466.0 | 11 025.0 | 44.1 | 24.9 | 16.0 |
| 36. Phattalung | 4.4 | 1 404.0 | 4 705.0 | 56.5 | 178.3 | 7.5 |
| 37. Phetchabun | 3.2 | 2 577.0 | 6 410.0 | 26.6 | 82.1 | 5.8 |
| 38. Phetchaburi | 13.6 | 1 031.0 | 7 206.0 | 38.2 | 26.1 | 22.1 |
| 39. Phichit | 6.8 | 2 823.0 | 5 132.0 | 37.1 | 127.0 | 46.3 |
| 40. Phitsanulok | 6.9 | 1 268.0 | 5 399.0 | 38.7 | 19.7 | 13.3 |
| 41. Phrae | 4.8 | 989.0 | 5 127.0 | 61.5 | 45.9 | 12.2 |
| 42. Phra Nakhon | 81.1 | 509.0 | 20 011.0 | 29.1 | 2.3 | 10.7 |
| 43. Phuket | 34.4 | 562.0 | 42 193.0 | 48.8 | 14.4 | 61.9 |
| 44. Prachinburi | 5.7 | 1 401.0 | 6 060.0 | 40.9 | 53.2 | 7.7 |
| 45. Prachuabkhiri | 12.2 | 2 003.0 | 19 229.0 | 42.3 | 79.6 | 20.4 |
| 46. Ranong | 17.3 | 369.0 | 21 533.0 | 56.2 | 13.6 | 34.9 |
| 47. Ratchaburi | 12.4 | 702.0 | 7 696.0 | 39.9 | 15.9 | 25.6 |

TABLE IV.1. *(continued)*

| | Rate of urbanization | Population per hospital bed | GDP per capita | Percentage of voters | Population per medical doctor | Electricity consumption per head |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 48. Rayong | 5.9 | 1 008.0 | 10 150.0 | 39.4 | 37.7 | 23.0 |
| 49. Roi Et | 2.6 | 4 209.0 | 2 235.0 | 57.4 | 139.5 | 3.6 |
| 50. Sakon Nakhon | 3.2 | 3 547.0 | 3 757.0 | 55.5 | 111.7 | 7.2 |
| 51. Samut Prakan | 16.8 | 1 059.0 | 53 021.0 | 37.2 | 37.5 | 12.3 |
| 52. Samut Sakhon | 20.9 | 1 183.0 | 9 225.0 | 46.1 | 29.9 | 12.3 |
| 53. Samut Songkhram | 18.8 | 798.0 | 5 261.0 | 39.0 | 24.1 | 16.7 |
| 54. Saraburi | 11.9 | 464.0 | 13 243.0 | 37.9 | 13.2 | 20.4 |
| 55. Satun | 6.3 | 1 210.0 | 7 479.0 | 49.8 | 66.0 | 10.9 |
| 56. Sing Buri | 5.5 | 471.0 | 8 606.0 | 41.0 | 19.8 | 16.7 |
| 57. Si Sa Ket | 1.7 | 5 033.0 | 1 892.0 | 40.7 | 133.0 | 3.3 |
| 58. Song Khla | 15.5 | 746.0 | 8 128.0 | 40.2 | 17.4 | 14.1 |
| 59. Sukhothai | 5.9 | 1 775.0 | 6 309.0 | 40.5 | 61.0 | 6.5 |
| 60. Suphan Buri | 4.8 | 3 204.0 | 7 409.0 | 45.0 | 69.2 | 10.9 |
| 61. Surat Thani | 8.5 | 389.0 | 6 048.0 | 39.8 | 37.0 | 13.5 |
| 62. Surin | 2.2 | 2 421.0 | 2 555.0 | 43.1 | 85.4 | 4.3 |
| 63. Tak | 13.7 | 638.0 | 6 757.0 | 41.6 | 22.1 | 19.2 |
| 64. Trang | 12.9 | 1 725.0 | 7 879.0 | 40.5 | 63.2 | 15.7 |
| 65. Trat | 8.4 | 456.0 | 10 457.0 | 60.3 | 16.0 | 16.4 |
| 66. Ubonratchani | 2.8 | 739.0 | 2 679.0 | 53.2 | 27.2 | 2.0 |
| 67. Udon Thani | 5.1 | 3 262.0 | 3 877.0 | 51.1 | 85.0 | 22.2 |
| 68. Uthai Thani | 5.9 | 102.0 | 5 714.0 | 56.2 | 26.5 | 9.0 |
| 69. Uttaradit | 4.7 | 938.0 | 5 867.0 | 49.0 | 38.6 | 9.7 |
| 70. Yala | 21.2 | 558.0 | 7 547.0 | 42.9 | 20.3 | 16.5 |
| $\bar{X}$ | 13.9 | 1 762.8 | 7 568.0 | 44.6 | 57.2 | 14.5 |
| $\sigma$ | 22.9 | 1 124.0 | 7 193.1 | 10.7 | 41.3 | 15.3 |

**TABLE IV.2.** Distribution of population, gross provincial product, and enrolment in various levels of education, 1975

| | Population | | GDP (millions) | | Lower primary | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | % | Number | % | Number | % |
| North-east | 15 188 000 | 35.3 | 47 703 | 14.7 | 5 876 130 | 36.3 |
| North | 9 151 000 | 21.3 | 50 068 | 15.4 | 1 120 662 | 21.7 |
| South | 5 324 000 | 12.4 | 38 530 | 11.9 | 673 789 | 13.0 |
| West | 3 170 000 | 7.4 | 27 709 | 8.5 | 405 968 | 7.9 |
| East | 2 471 000 | 5.7 | 25 207 | 7.8 | 310 996 | 6.0 |
| Central | 3 350 000 | 7.8 | 48 828 | 15.0 | 400 903 | 7.8 |
| Bangkok | 4 351 000 | 10.1 | 87 067 | 26.8 | 382 671 | 7.4 |
| Total | 43 005 000 | 100.0 | 325 112 | 100.0 | 5 171 128 | 100.0 |

SOURCE: Population and GDP: Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board. Gross Provincial Product, Population and Per Capita GPP 1974-1976. Bangkok, 1977.

Enrolment in Primary and Secondary Education: National Statistical Office. 1975 Statistics on academic streams of Education by Province. Bangkok, 1977.

Admission to University: Office of State Universities. *Report on the Joint Higher Education Entrance Examination*. Bangkok, 1975.

| Upper primary | | Lower secondary | | Upper secondary | | University admission | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number | % | Number | % | Number | % | Number | % |
| 397 246 | 26.5 | 196 399 | 23.2 | 16 053 | 14.5 | 773 | 7.3 |
| 275 989 | 18.4 | 140 139 | 16.6 | 14 442 | 13.1 | 1 133 | 10.7 |
| 216 007 | 14.4 | 129 496 | 15.3 | 12 668 | 11.5 | 1 341 | 12.7 |
| 136 557 | 9.1 | 66 594 | 7.9 | 5 954 | 5.4 | 798 | 7.5 |
| 95 662 | 6.4 | 51 064 | 6.0 | 4 950 | 4.5 | 789 | 7.4 |
| 159 145 | 10.6 | 90 378 | 10.7 | 8 983 | 8.1 | 641 | 6.1 |
| 217 237 | 14.5 | 172 009 | 20.3 | 47 497 | 43.0 | 5 118 | 48.3 |
| 1 497 843 | 100.0 | 846 079 | 100.0 | 110 547 | 100.0 | 10 593 | 100.0 |

# Appendix V

## Correlation coefficient matrices and scattergrams

*List of variables*

Access 1 : Access to lower primary education
Access 2 : Transition rate from lower to upper primary education
Access 3 : Access to upper primary education
Access 4 : Transition rate from upper primary to lower secondary education
Access 5 : Access to lower secondary education
Access 6 : Access to upper secondary education
School 1 : Percentage of qualified teachers in primary education
School 2 : Pupil/teacher ratio in primary education
School 3 : Grant per pupil in provincial schools
School 4 : Percentage of pupils enrolled in rural schools
School 5 : Percentage of qualified teachers in secondary education
School 6 : Pupil/teacher ratio in secondary education
Region 1 : Rate of urbanization
Region 2 : Population per hospital bed
Region 3 : Gross Provincial Product per capita
Region 4 : Percentage voters
Region 5 : Population per medical doctor
Region 6 : Consumption of electricity per head
Region 7 : Log of population per hospital bed
Region 8 : Log of GPP per capita

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           ACCESS1    ACCESS2    ACCESS3    ACCESS4    ACCESS5    ACCESS6    SCHOOL1    SCHOOL2    SCHOOL3    SCHOOL4

ACCESS1     1.0000     0.2110     0.4246     0.3210     0.4674     0.2380     0.2942     0.0828    -0.1753    -0.0247
           (    0)    (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (   63)    (   63)
           S=0.001    S=0.040    S=0.001    S=0.003    S=0.001    S=0.024    S=0.007    S=0.248    S=0.085    S=0.424

ACCESS2     0.2110     1.0000     0.9457     0.3683     0.8141     0.7339     0.7512    -0.4612     0.5929    -0.6071
           (   70)    (    0)    (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (   63)    (   63)
           S=0.040    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001

ACCESS3     0.4246     0.9457     1.0000     0.3227     0.8058     0.6574     0.6783    -0.3470     0.4380    -0.5223
           (   70)    (   70)    (    0)    (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (   63)    (   63)
           S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.003    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.002    S=0.001    S=0.001

ACCESS4     0.3210     0.3683     0.3227     1.0000     0.7333     0.6298     0.6095    -0.1291     0.0190    -0.2752
           (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (    0)    (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (   63)    (   63)
           S=0.003    S=0.001    S=0.003    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.143    S=0.441    S=0.015

ACCESS5     0.4674     0.8141     0.8058     0.7333     1.0000     0.8596     0.8434    -0.3502     0.4319    -0.6119
           (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (    0)    (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (   63)    (   63)
           S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001

ACCESS6     0.2380     0.7339     0.6574     0.6298     0.8596     1.0000     0.8429    -0.3893     0.5087    -0.6007
           (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (    0)    (   70)    (   70)    (   63)    (   63)
           S=0.024    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001

SCHOOL1     0.2942     0.7512     0.6783     0.6095     0.8434     0.8429     1.0000    -0.3142     0.4353    -0.7218
           (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (    0)    (   70)    (   63)    (   63)
           S=0.007    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.004    S=0.001    S=0.001

SCHOOL2     0.0828    -0.4612    -0.3470    -0.1291    -0.3502    -0.3893    -0.3142     1.0000    -0.8650     0.3694
           (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (    0)    (   63)    (   63)
           S=0.248    S=0.001    S=0.002    S=0.143    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.004    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001

SCHOOL3    -0.1753     0.5929     0.4380     0.0190     0.4319     0.5087     0.4353    -0.8650     1.0000    -0.5292
           (   63)    (   63)    (   63)    (   63)    (   63)    (   63)    (   63)    (   63)    (    0)    (   63)
           S=0.085    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.441    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001

SCHOOL4    -0.0247    -0.6071    -0.5223    -0.2752    -0.6119    -0.6007    -0.7218     0.3694    -0.5292     1.0000
           (   63)    (   63)    (   63)    (   63)    (   63)    (   63)    (   63)    (   63)    (   63)    (    0)
           S=0.424    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.015    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001

SCHOOL5     0.0990     0.6527     0.5108     0.5292     0.6775     0.7666     0.8466    -0.3811     0.3798    -0.6915
           (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (   70)    (   63)    (   63)
           S=0.208    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001    S=0.001

(COEFFICIENT / (CASES) / SIGNIFICANCE)        (A VALUE OF 99.0000 IS PRINTED IF A COEFFICIENT CANNOT BE COMPUTED)
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             ACCESS1     ACCESS2     ACCESS3     ACCESS4     ACCESS5     ACCESS6     SCHOOL1     SCHOOL2     SCHOOL3     SCHOOL4

SCHOOL6       0.3990     -0.2131     -0.1083      0.2588      0.0805      0.0308     -0.0213      0.2940     -0.4492      0.4913
             (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   63)     (   63)
             S=0.001     S=0.038     S=0.186     S=0.015     S=0.254     S=0.400     S=0.430     S=0.007     S=0.001     S=0.001

REGION1       0.1425      0.6572      0.5239      0.5997      0.7540      0.8664      0.8101     -0.2640      0.6102     -0.8725
             (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   63)     (   63)
             S=0.120     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.014     S=0.001     S=0.001

REGION2       0.0404     -0.4876     -0.3697     -0.3715     -0.5061     -0.5295     -0.5044      0.4601     -0.4815      0.5278
             (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   63)     (   63)
             S=0.370     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001

REGION3       0.1489      0.6575      0.5983      0.4519      0.6763      0.6758      0.7022     -0.1927      0.3333     -0.7141
             (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   63)     (   63)
             S=0.109     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.055     S=0.004     S=0.001

REGION4      -0.0195     -0.4429     -0.3585     -0.4127     -0.4183     -0.4438     -0.5437      0.0450     -0.0313      0.3451
             (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   63)     (   63)
             S=0.437     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.356     S=0.404     S=0.003

REGION5       0.0625     -0.4626     -0.3335     -0.2948     -0.4359     -0.5345     -0.5069      0.4184     -0.4382      0.4897
             (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   63)     (   63)
             S=0.304     S=0.001     S=0.002     S=0.007     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001

REGION6       0.1148      0.0998      0.1207      0.2640      0.2013      0.0632      0.1707     -0.0482      0.1118     -0.3129
             (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   63)     (   63)
             S=0.172     S=0.206     S=0.160     S=0.014     S=0.047     S=0.302     S=0.079     S=0.346     S=0.192     S=0.006

REGION7      -0.0277     -0.5740     -0.4613     -0.4352     -0.6134     -0.6293     -0.5683      0.4932     -0.5365      0.5430
             (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   63)     (   63)
             S=0.410     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001

REGION8       0.1225      0.7342      0.6271      0.5463      0.7398      0.7255      0.7845     -0.4176      0.4910     -0.8373
             (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   63)     (   63)
             S=0.156     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001

(COEFFICIENT / (CASES) / SIGNIFICANCE)      (A VALUE OF 99.0000 IS PRINTED IF A COEFFICIENT CANNOT BE COMPUTED)
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            SCHOOL5     SCHOOL6     REGION1     REGION2     REGION3     REGION4     REGION5     REGION6     REGION7     REGION8

ACCESS1      0.0890      0.3980      0.1425      0.0404      0.1489     -0.0195      0.0625      0.1148     -0.0277      0.1225
            (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)
            S=0.208     S=0.001     S=0.120     S=0.370     S=0.109     S=0.437     S=0.304     S=0.172     S=0.410     S=0.156

ACCESS2      0.6527     -0.2131      0.6572     -0.4876      0.6575     -0.4429     -0.4626      0.0998     -0.5740      0.7362
            (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)
            S=0.001     S=0.038     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.206     S=0.001     S=0.001

ACCESS3      0.5108     -0.1083      0.5239     -0.3697      0.5983     -0.3585     -0.3335      0.1207     -0.4613      0.6271
            (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)
            S=0.001     S=0.186     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.002     S=0.160     S=0.001     S=0.001

ACCESS4      0.5292      0.2588      0.5997     -0.3715      0.4519     -0.4127     -0.2948      0.2640     -0.4352      0.5463
            (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)
            S=0.001     S=0.015     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.007     S=0.014     S=0.001     S=0.001

ACCESS5      0.6775      0.0885      0.7540     -0.5041      0.6763     -0.4183     -0.4359      0.2013     -0.6134      0.7398
            (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)
            S=0.001     S=0.234     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.047     S=0.001     S=0.001

ACCESS6      0.7666      0.0308      0.8664     -0.5295      0.6758     -0.4438     -0.5345      0.0632     -0.6293      0.7235
            (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)
            S=0.001     S=0.400     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.302     S=0.001     S=0.001

SCHOOL1      0.8466     -0.0213      0.8101     -0.5044      0.7022     -0.5437     -0.5069      0.1707     -0.5683      0.7845
            (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)
            S=0.001     S=0.430     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.079     S=0.001     S=0.001

SCHOOL2     -0.3811      0.2940     -0.2640      0.4601     -0.1927      0.0450      0.4184     -0.0482      0.4932     -0.4176
            (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)
            S=0.001     S=0.007     S=0.014     S=0.001     S=0.055     S=0.356     S=0.001     S=0.346     S=0.001     S=0.001

SCHOOL3      0.3798     -0.4492      0.6102     -0.4815      0.3333     -0.0313     -0.4382      0.1118     -0.5365      0.4910
            (    63)    (    63)    (    63)    (    63)    (    63)    (    63)    (    63)    (    63)    (    63)    (    63)
            S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.004     S=0.404     S=0.001     S=0.192     S=0.001     S=0.001

SCHOOL4     -0.6915      0.4913     -0.8725      0.5278     -0.7141      0.3451      0.4897     -0.3129      0.5430     -0.8373
            (    63)    (    63)    (    63)    (    63)    (    63)    (    63)    (    63)    (    63)    (    63)    (    63)
            S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.003     S=0.001     S=0.006     S=0.001     S=0.001

SCHOOL5      1.0000     -0.2045      0.7590     -0.5289      0.7176     -0.5441     -0.5739      0.1339     -0.5559      0.8325
            (     0)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)    (    70)
            S=0.001     S=0.045     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.135     S=0.001     S=0.001

(COEFFICIENT / (CASES) / SIGNIFICANCE)        (A VALUE OF 99.0000 IS PRINTED IF A COEFFICIENT CANNOT BE COMPUTED)
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- - - - - - - - - - - - - - P E A R S O N   C O R R E L A T I O N   C O E F F I C I E N T S - - - - - - - - - - - - -

              SCHOOL5     SCHOOL6     REGION1     REGION2     REGION3     REGION4     REGION5     REGION6     REGION7     REGION8

SCHOOL6       -0.2045      1.0000      0.1394      0.3612     -0.1203     -0.0224      0.3722     -0.1405      0.3010     -0.2532
              (   70)     (    0)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)
              S=0.045     S=0.001     S=0.125     S=0.001     S=0.161     S=0.427     S=0.001     S=0.123     S=0.006     S=0.017

REGION1        0.7590      0.1394      1.0000     -0.4484      0.6612     -0.5258     -0.5112     -0.0195     -0.5349      0.7110
              (   70)     (   70)     (    0)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)
              S=0.001     S=0.125     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.436     S=0.001     S=0.001

REGION2       -0.5289      0.3612     -0.4484      1.0000     -0.4616      0.2379      0.8723      0.0807      0.9256     -0.6250
              (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (    0)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)
              S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.024     S=0.001     S=0.254     S=0.001     S=0.001

REGION3        0.7176     -0.1203      0.6612     -0.4616      1.0000     -0.4364     -0.4686      0.0732     -0.4974      0.8935
              (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (    0)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)
              S=0.001     S=0.161     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.274     S=0.001     S=0.001

REGION4       -0.5441     -0.0224     -0.5258      0.2379     -0.4364      1.0000      0.2868     -0.1827      0.2652     -0.5453
              (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (    0)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)
              S=0.001     S=0.427     S=0.001     S=0.024     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.008     S=0.065     S=0.013     S=0.001

REGION5       -0.5739      0.3722     -0.5112      0.8723     -0.4686      0.2868      1.0000      0.1775      0.8282     -0.6101
              (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (    0)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)
              S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.008     S=0.001     S=0.071     S=0.001     S=0.001

REGION6        0.1339     -0.1405     -0.0195      0.0807      0.0732     -0.1827      0.1775      1.0000      0.0683      0.1575
              (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (    0)     (   70)     (   70)
              S=0.135     S=0.123     S=0.436     S=0.254     S=0.274     S=0.065     S=0.071     S=0.001     S=0.287     S=0.097

REGION7       -0.5559      0.3010     -0.5349      0.9256     -0.4974      0.2652      0.8282      0.0683      1.0000     -0.6361
              (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (    0)     (   70)
              S=0.001     S=0.006     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.013     S=0.001     S=0.287     S=0.001     S=0.001

REGION8        0.8325     -0.2532      0.7110     -0.6250      0.8935     -0.5453     -0.6101      0.1575     -0.6361      1.0000
              (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (   70)     (    0)
              S=0.001     S=0.017     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.001     S=0.097     S=0.001     S=0.001

(COEFFICIENT / (CASES) / SIGNIFICANCE)      (A VALUE OF 99.0000 IS PRINTED IF A COEFFICIENT CANNOT BE COMPUTED)
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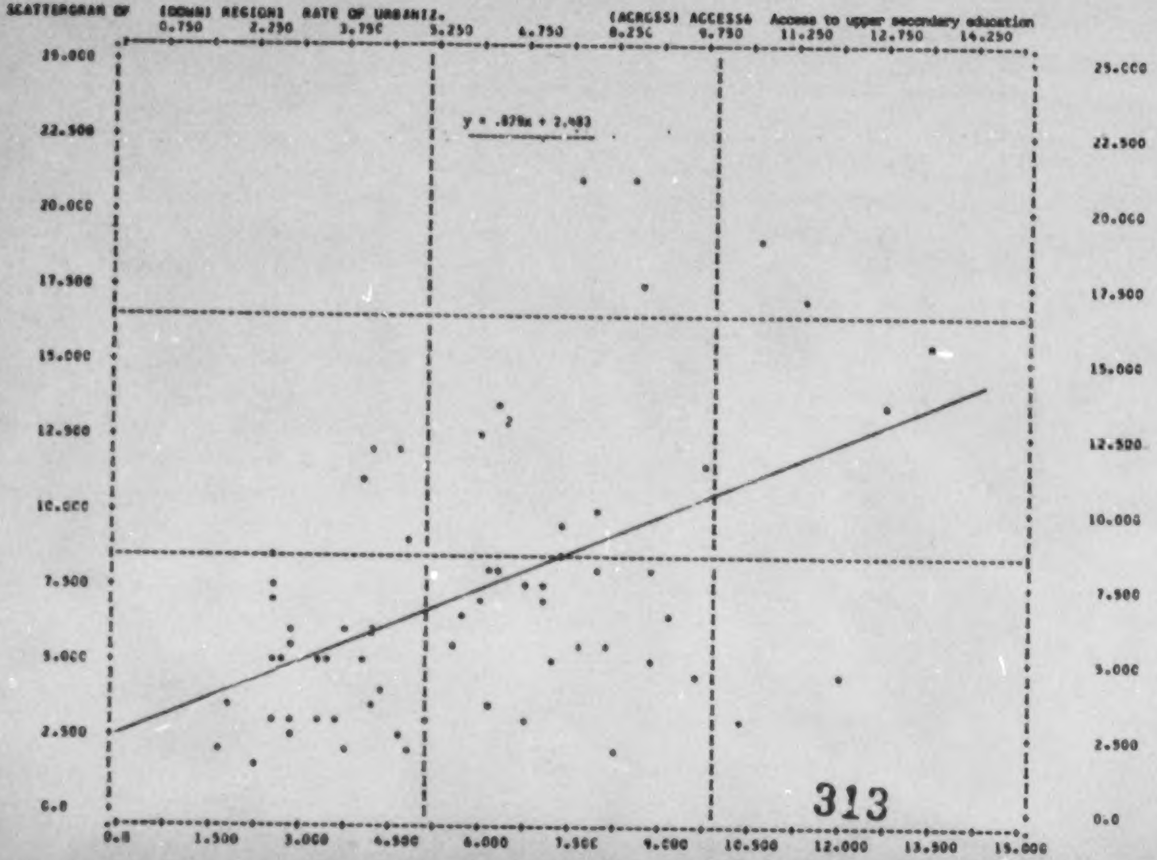
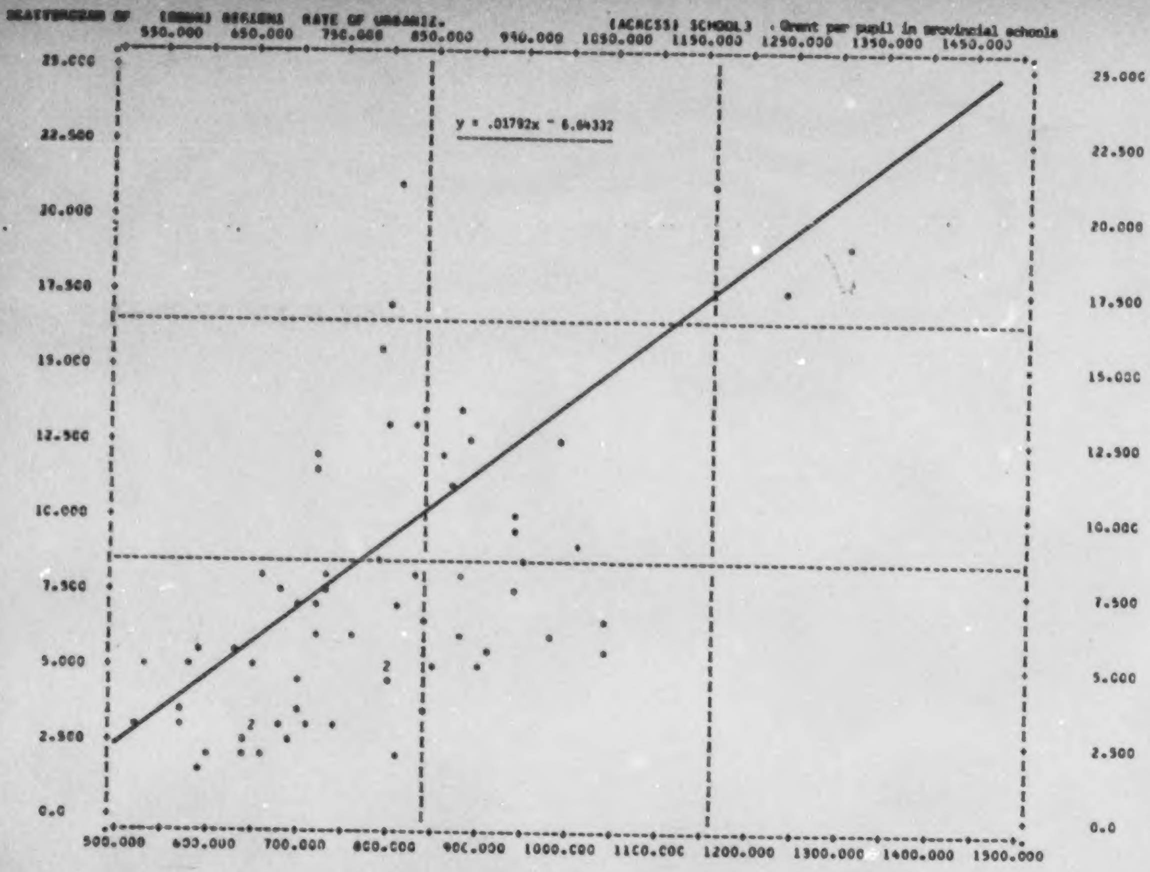
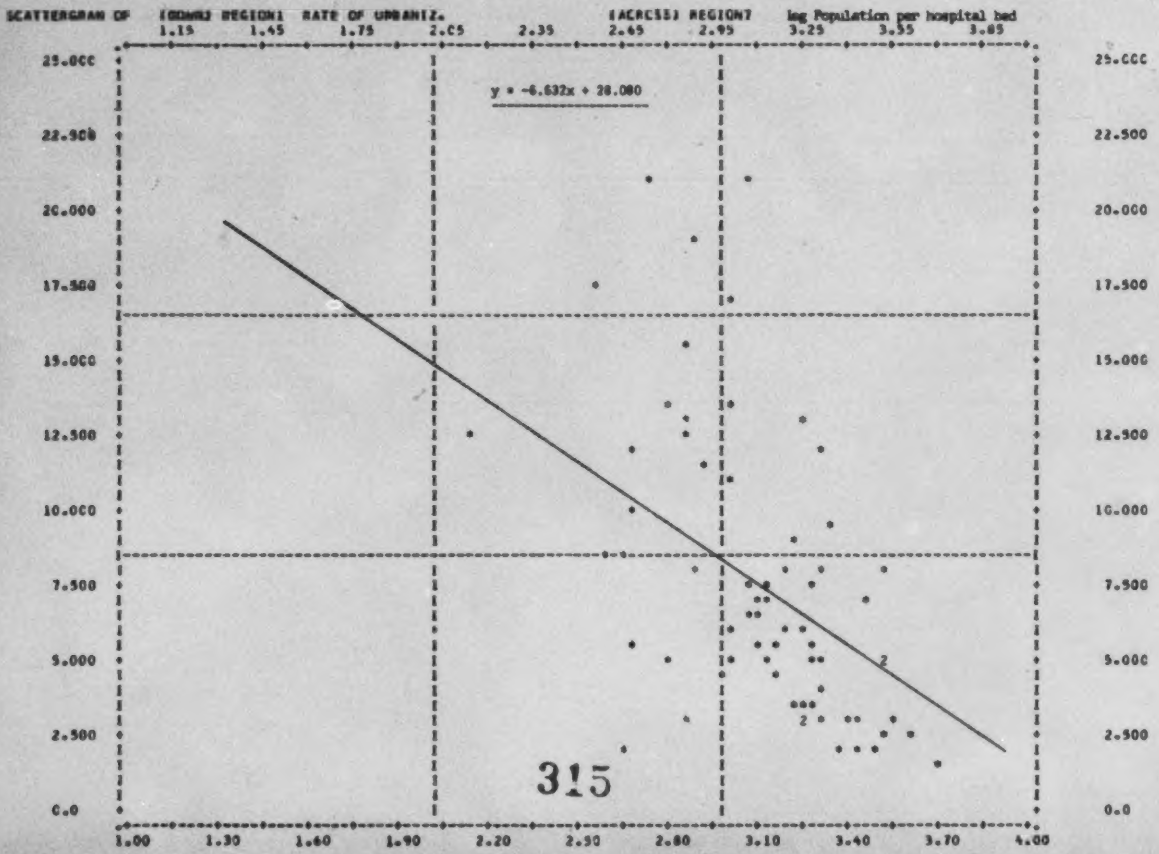
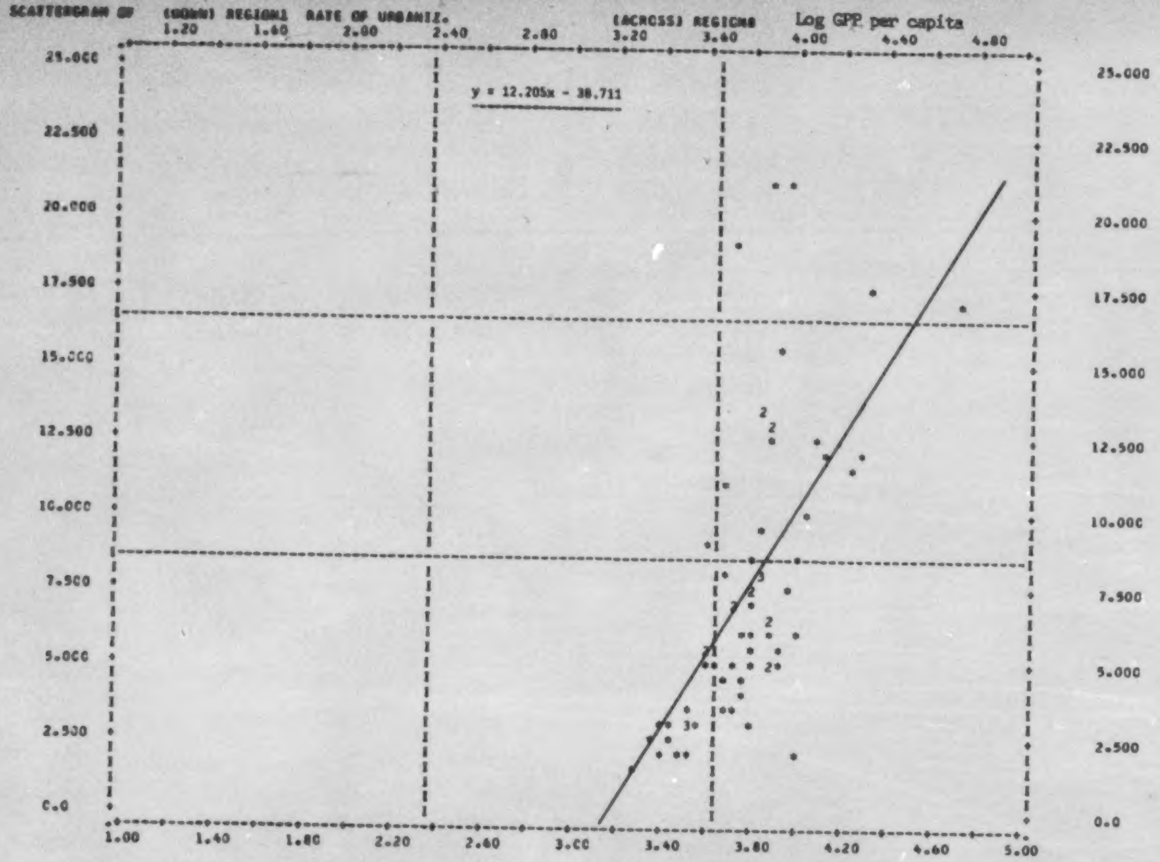
Appendix V


SCATTERGRAM OF (DOWN) REGION1 RATE OF URBANIZ. (ACROSS) ACCESS6 Access to upper secondary education
0.750
2.250
3.750
5.250
6.750
8.250
9.750
11.250
12.750
14.250
25.000
22.500
20.000
17.500
15.000
12.500
10.000
7.500
5.000
2.500
0.0
0.0
1.500
3.000
4.500
6.000
7.500
9.000
10.500
12.000
13.500
15.000
y = .879x + 2.483
2


SCATTERGRAM OF (DOWN) REGION1 RATE OF URBANIZ. (ACROSS) SCHOOL3 · Grant per pupil in provincial schools
550.000 650.000 750.000 850.000 950.000 1050.000 1150.000 1250.000 1350.000 1450.000
25.000
22.500
20.000
17.500
15.000
12.500
10.000
7.500
5.000
2.500
0.0
y = .01792x − 6.84332
2
2
500.000 600.000 700.000 800.000 900.000 1000.000 1100.000 1200.000 1300.000 1400.000 1500.000

Appendix V


SCATTERGRAM OF (DOWN) REGION1 RATE OF URBANIZ. (ACROSS) REGION7 log Population per hospital bed
1.15
1.45
1.75
2.05
2.35
2.65
2.95
3.25
3.55
3.85
y = -6.632x + 28.080
25.000
22.500
20.000
17.500
15.000
12.500
10.000
7.500
5.000
2.500
0.0
2
2
1.00
1.30
1.60
1.90
2.20
2.50
2.80
3.10
3.40
3.70
4.00


SCATTERGRAM OF (DOWN) REGION1 RATE OF URBANIZ.
(ACROSS) REGION8 Log GPP per capita
1.20
1.60
2.00
2.40
2.80
3.20
3.60
4.00
4.40
4.80
y = 12.205x - 38.711
25.000
22.500
20.000
17.500
15.000
12.500
10.000
7.500
5.000
2.500
0.0
1.00
1.40
1.80
2.20
2.60
3.00
3.40
3.80
4.20
4.60
5.00

Appendix V

# Development policy and educational opportunity:
## the experience of Kenya and Tanzania

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*University of Nairobi, Kenya*

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This paper has benefited from helpful comments on an earlier draft by Paul Mhaiki, Philip Foster, Gabriel Carron and Ta Ngoc Châu. We are grateful to them and to Selina Coelho for typing the manuscript.

# I. Introduction

It is a familiar historical fact that the educational facilities available to the newly independent African nations in the early 1960s were both extremely limited and unequally distributed between geographical areas. While it is relatively easy to account for the inherited pattern of regional disparities, it is less easy to understand the causes of their persistence to the present day and to assess the possibilities for planning their reduction.

The historical pattern of regional imbalance in the distribution of educational resources and opportunities originated in the economic mode of colonial development, the location of missionary activity and the pattern of local self-help activity. Education policy in the early years of independence tended to ignore and therefore to reinforce regional disparities. Correcting the imbalance was not at first viewed as a priority, because of the absolute shortage of those with educational qualifications and the consequent stress on across-the-board expansion. At the same time the need to fill positions in the expanding administration led to an emphasis on secondary and higher education for those who were already in the system at the time of independence.

In the past five years, however, a number of factors have raised the issue of regional access to education to one of high visibility and official concern. Some of this concern stems from changing world ideas about development, in which the equitable distribution of resources and fulfilment of basic needs has replaced growth as the defining characteristic of development. More immediately it reflects growing anxiety about the threat to nationhood posed by the demands of regional and ethnic groups for a relatively greater share of national resources, which are gathering strength at the very time that opportunities for wage employment are closing up.

As a result, equalising educational opportunity has now become a primary stated goal of most African countries. Two types of objective are usually implicit in this intention. In the first place the goal is conceived principally in terms of providing *access* to a basic minimum education for all, by accelerating the supply of educational facilities to previously neglected areas and groups. A second type of objective involves the idea of equal *opportunity* for all citizens to advance to higher levels of the education system. This is more far-reaching in its implications than the idea of a universal minimum, in that it cannot be satisfied by a common provision. Instead, it must incorporate acceptable criteria for determining individual access to successive restricted levels of educational opportunity and, by extension, for relevant sub-groups of the national population.[1]

The broad aim of this paper is to analyse what the experience of Kenya and Tanzania can tell us about the extent to which equalisation of the two types is possible and about the conditions which influence levels of policy achievement. Within this general aim the paper describes the dimensions of regional disparity within the two countries and compares their policies for responding to them. The main part of the paper analyses the achievement of the two countries in reducing disparities, and attempts to identify problems associated with the implementation of policy and some of the conditions in the two countries influencing relative impact. Finally, the paper draws some conclusions from the analysis for the planning process, and speculates on the possible future implications of policy in Kenya and Tanzania.

The approach is descriptive and the use of data eclectic. Data are drawn from a variety of sources, including studies of the authors, and a wide range of secondary materials. The paper has a sequential aspect in that detail on the nature of educational disparities which is provided for Kenya is not duplicated for Tanzania, whereas slightly more attention is given to policy responses in Tanzania than in Kenya. As well as avoiding duplication, this allocation reflects the relative availability of data for the two countries and the particular interest of Tanzanian policy because of its innovative intentions.

Two broad assumptions lie behind the descriptive and comparative approach which is employed. The first is the view that because regional disparities are a consequence of a process of societal development the prospects for their alleviation can be assessed only within the context of overall development policy. The basis for this view has been well stated by Weiler and refers to:

> the important degree to which the development of educational systems is conditioned and determined by the state of the social system as a whole, and the fact that educational development and reform is limited to what the existing dynamics of social structure, political power and economic wealth permit.[2]

More particularly, we assume not simply that the pattern of disparities is conditioned by the social context but that the impetus to development policy insofar as it relates to equalisation is less an economic objective than a political one, which is concerned with the maintenance of inter-regional and inter-ethnic distributions of power. As a pre-requisite for assessing the validity of this assertion and its relevance to planning we need improved descriptions of the way in which educational systems actually operate and interact with their social and political environment.

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[1] An excellent review of conceptual, methodological and policy issues involved in the study of disparities is contained in Gabriel Carron and Ta Ngoc Châu, *Regional disparities in educational development*, Paris, IIEP, 1977 (mimeo). See also Mary Jean Bowman, 'Education and opportunity: some economic perspectives', *Oxford review of education*, Vol. 1 No. 1, 1975.

[2] Hans N. Weiler, 'Changing concepts and practices of educational planning: implications for training', paper prepared for IIEP/SIDA seminar on 'Changing needs for training in educational planning and administration', 27 September-1 October 1976, Paris, IIEP, 1976, p. 8 (mimeo).

Secondly, we have chosen a comparative approach out of the conviction that this is an especially useful way of isolating some of the specific contextual characteristics which influence educational policy. The experience of Kenya and Tanzania is particularly instructive and worthy of analysis because both countries are concerned with the problem of historical disparities in educational opportunity and have directed policy towards their alleviation but have done so in different ways and under different conditions. In their intentions and partly in their practice they illustrate radically different planning models, and a comparison of their experience illuminates the problems and the possibilities of equalisation policy.

## A. The problem of regional disparities

Regional inequalities in the distribution of rewards and services occur in varying degrees in all societies. Originating in the pattern of geographical distribution of resources, they become the subject of political demands on governments because those in relatively disadvantaged areas tend to outnumber their more privileged compatriots and aspire to parity with them. What is a universal phenomenon is made particularly acute in Africa by a number of factors which constantly threaten to turn regional differences into a degree of regional disaffection that can threaten national unity.

In the first place, economic disparities tend to coincide with ethnic, linguistic and historical distinctions which find expression in strongly held particularistic loyalties and intensify sentiments of relative deprivation when they exist. Regions, therefore, assume importance not simply as units of administration but because usually they are also units of intense group aspiration. Secondly, the achievement of independence aggravated regional competition while increasing the need for national unity. It aroused mass expectations of improved welfare and aspirations for social equality associated with the rights and services of newly won citizenship but did so at the same time as it removed the necessity for acting in concert against the colonial power.[1] Thirdly, although independence opened up a batch of new opportunities their expansion has been limited by the pace of economic growth and has proved insufficient in relation to the ever-increasing number of aspirants for them. The regional competitiveness aroused by this situation was intensified by the form of independence itself, which in most African countries consisted of the peaceable takeover of colonial positions and associated life-styles. This ensured that these rewards became the measure of popular aspiration, in defiance of economic realities. The very visibility of the fruits of *Uhuru* obscured awareness of their scarcity and appreciation of possible alternatives.

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[1] A helpful overview of these issues as they relate to Africa is contained in David R. Smock and Kwamena Bentsi-Enchill, *The search for national integration in Africa*, pp. 3-17 and 93-99. A particularly instructive case study is David B. Abernethy, *The political dilemma of popular education*, Stanford University Press, 1969.

As a result of these factors, governments are faced with demands for economic and social equality which they are ill-equipped to meet but cannot ignore. The vulnerability of régimes in Africa to regional disaffection is amply and dramatically illustrated in the tumultuous history of the past fifteen years. Today there is hardly one that is not still striving to create a sense of nationhood and to find a means of distributing limited resources in ways which respond adequately to the regional pressures for equality which pose a constant threat to national integrity.

These political pressures tend to converge on the education system. Schools in most societies are the main channel of social mobility, but in Africa they are the almost exclusive means of access to wage-paying occupations and élite roles. The dominance of the public sector in employment led to the early reliance on educational qualifications. As the output from the school system has increased and outpaced the positions made available by a less rapidly expanding economy, educational qualifications have become the principal means of screening applicants and the same process has raised the minimum qualification associated with each occupational level.[1]

Because to distribute education at the upper level is to distribute future status, schools are the arena for important political competition and the demand for regional equality is the demand for more schooling. This now familiar process of escalating certification has severe political consequences, summarised succinctly by Philip Foster:

> Access to schooling becomes therefore a focus for individual and group conflict, whether it is perceived in terms of a rise in personal rank and monetary rewards or whether it is seen as an instrument though which diverse ethnic or social groupings can achieve an enhancement of their collective status in the emerging social structures of the new states.[2]

Variations in the distribution of educational facilities within African countries are hence a major source of political vulnerability, and finding some means of reducing this a continuing preoccupation.

## B. Education as a means for reducing regionalism

Looked at from the above perspective the problem facing governing élites is how to maintain national unity and social cohesion which are threatened by inequalities in the distribution of educational facilities and opportunities. However, as well as being a major part of the problem of regional inequality, education offers some means of solution. There are several distinct ways through which education policy can contribute to the reduction of regional inequality. They have been the subject of extensive theoretical attention and should be briefly summarised here as they constitute the theoretical framework through which we consider the experience of Kenya and Tanzania.[1]

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[1] Numerous writers have described the process of certificate-escalation and its origins. An entertaining and eloquent, if sometimes fanciful, discourse on this topic is contained in Ronald Dore, *The diploma disease: education, qualification and development*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1975.

[2] Philip Foster, 'Access to schooling', in Don Adams (ed), *Education in national development*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971, p. 15.

In the first place, equality can be sought through the direction of central government resources to ensure that each region has the facilities which provide for a basic common level of primary schooling. Because education is an egalitarian end in itself and is viewed as a fundamental right, the provision of a common basic minimum for all citizens across all regions fulfils expectations about the role of national governments and thereby helps to reduce regionalism. Beyond the provision of a basic minimum for all citizens, equality is served by the equitable distribution of facilities for *further* education. The problem with trying to achieve parity through the provision of common facilities is that such provision tends to be unbalanced through differential levels of regional self-help. Even when the facilities are ostensibly identical across regions a range of factors, which are not easily manipulable, give disproportionate advantage to particular groups, resulting in unequal access which is not easily remedied. Thus, because regions differ in their relative ability to make use of proffered facilities parity tends to be sought through regional quotas relating the number who can advance to further education from each region to its proportion of the national population. One problem with such regional quotas is that at least temporarily they require differential standards of access and advancement, and therefore can themselves exacerbate regional tension.

To the extent that common facilities and opportunities are not easily or speedily established by means of compensatory provision, the political vulnerability of governments to regional disaffection is bound up with the question of the extent to which a common national outlook can be superimposed upon regional grievances arising out of regional variation. Two different bases for such a common outlook can be discerned in the working of educational systems.

The first way in which it is expected that schools impart a common national outlook is through political education. Although evidence on the ability of schools to impart a chosen ideology or outlook remains surprisingly scarce, the assumption that this can be done remains strong.[2] The assumption is that schools can be used to secure commitment by students to a set of consensus values, common identity or national ethic which overrides or renders insignificant regional sentiment. Thus when inequalities are perceived or confronted they are made to seem acceptable or irrelevant in relation to a higher order and unifying set of values to which all adhere. To the extent that schools are able to promote such a commitment they can reduce the damaging extremes of regional sentiment.

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[1] Much of the relevant literature is summarized in Philip Foster, 'Education and social differentiation in Africa: what we think we know and what we ought to know', paper presented to the Social Science Research Council Conference on Inequality, New York, October 1976.

[2] This is the political socialisation hypothesis. For its application to East Africa see Kenneth Prewitt (ed), *Education and political values in East Africa*, Nairobi, East African Publishing House, 1971.

The second basis on which schools can be used to assuage regional sentiment is through their association with the ideal of equal opportunity. Paradoxically, the close association of educational attainment with social mobility, which is the source of competitive demand for schools, offers through the concept of equal opportunity an ideal which can deflect or reduce the strength of regional content involved in popular demand. The existence of social mobility, providing an opportunity for some individuals to move from disadvantaged to advantaged positions, tends to weaken interest in collective efforts by those who remain. To the extent that upward mobility is a reality for some and is thought to be possible for all, it serves to alleviate some of the incipient antagonisms of the disadvantaged towards the advantaged. The likelihood of such a process operating to reduce regional friction depends upon how widely the ethos of equal opportunity is spread. In the last resort this depends upon a range of intangible factors affecting inter-regional trust, but insofar as it works through education it depends upon the acceptability and perceived validity of the means by which the education system selects individuals for further opportunity. The rationale of the meritocratic ideal is that inequalities—both individual and regional—are more tolerable if everyone believes he has an equal chance to benefit and does not question the criteria by which merit and hence mobility are determined.[1]

An entirely different strategy for reducing the strength of regionalism in the popular demand for education involves not tightening the relationship between education and merit selection—as in the previous case—but actually removing or reducing it. The aim here is to reduce the attraction of schooling as a personal or family investment by breaking the link between educational attainment and subsequent opportunity. Considerations of this strategy are more notable in futuristic writings than in evident practice, with the possible exception of Cuba and China, but as we shall show the idea is powerful in Tanzania's intentions. The effectiveness of the strategy depends on efforts on two fronts. The first involves broadening the basis on which selection for valued opportunities takes place, so that the exclusive instrumentality of educational attainment is correspondingly reduced—through supplementation by several other criteria—and hence also the competitive importance attached to education. A second complementary aim is to alter the societal incentive structure by reducing the rewards associated with educational attainment, so that education seems to matter less as a means and more as an end.

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[1] This now familiar hypothesis is discussed in some detail in relation to income inequalities in David Court, 'The education system as a response to inequality in Tanzania and Kenya', *The Journal of modern African studies*, Vol. 14, No. 4, 1976.

In summary, because of its association with social mobility, education is an object of popular demand and political competition. At the same time, educational policy potentially can help to contain the regionalism associated with this demand. While efforts to expand educational opportunity clearly reflect acceptance of education as a fundamental right of citizenship as part of a broad view of development, they also respond to political imperatives associated with the threat of regionalism. It is difficult to understand what is possible in educational planning without taking account of the political context and the role of education as a mediator of destructive regionalism. With this broad framework in mind we can now turn to the specific experience of Kenya and Tanzania and suggest why their different response to a fundamentally similar problem is worthy of comparative attention.

## C. Education in the context of development policy in Kenya and Tanzania

Kenya and Tanzania inherited similar problems of regional inequality but have adopted strikingly different responses in trying to deal with their attendant consequences. In this section we will briefly characterise the common problem and summarise intended responses as a background to the more detailed consideration of both countries which follows.[1]

Although there are important historical differences between Kenya and Tanzania, which are summarised shortly, a major aspect of their colonial inheritance is similar. In both countries the pattern of economic development had been extremely uneven between different areas and was associated with ethnic differentials. Thus, as a consequence of geographical factors and the character of colonial development, the pattern of access to resources and services varied greatly. Furthermore, in each country particular regions dominated representation and opportunities. Perhaps nowhere were these disparities more evident than in the distribution of educational facilities. At the time of Independence, inequalities in access to education were similar in both countries and starkly visible. Formal schooling reached only a minute fraction of the total population in each country, and educational facilities and expenditures disproportionately favoured minority groups, urban areas and areas of mission settlement and colonial interest. The post-Independence expansion of formal education in Tanzania and Kenya has witnessed the elimination of some of these inherited tendencies, the intensification of others, and the emergence of new ones amidst a more variegated pattern of inequality. Racially segregated systems were quickly abolished, but in both countries severe regional differences in educational provision persisted and will be the subject of analysis. In Kenya, for example, primary-school enrolment of the relevant age-cohort reaches 100 per cent in Central Province as compared with 35 per cent in North Eastern Province, and these figures are mirrored in a comparison of Kilimanjaro and Shinyanga regions in Tanzania. Quantitative indicators of educational opportunity tend to be paralleled by sharp regional differences in the quality of existing schools. Schools with better facilities and teachers are not randomly distributed and tend by and large to be concentrated in or close to towns. The effect of this tends to be compounded by the fact that in both countries until very recently the critical examination which determines access to secondary education tended to be élitist in its content and orientation and to disproportionately favour those from the better-endowed schools and to disadvantage those from rural or poor urban schools. The under-representation of females in the education system of both countries, particularly at the upper levels, conforms to the general regional pattern.[1] Areas of both countries which had the longest association with colonial and mission settlement and have the richest agriculture and the most-developed primary-school system were disproportionately represented among subsequent opportunities. In both countries independence triggered a vast expansion of demand for education for reasons summarised earlier, which is still continuing. Fuelling this demand has been an individual willingness to devote personal resources to educational facilities, which in turn becomes the basis for a claim on government provision. The government response especially in Kenya has been to tolerate and attempt to regularise local initiative, thereby further intensifying the demand. The strength of this demand is evident in the prevalence of repeating, the mushroom growth of *Harambee* secondary schools and the more recent phenomenon of *Harambee* Institutes of Technology.[2] Although Tanzania chose initially to try and restrain rather than tolerate uncontrolled popular demand for educational expansion this demand has remained strong and is now evident in the rapid growth of private schools and the prominent role of the Tanzania Parents' Association in promoting post-primary technical schools.

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[1] Recent seminal works on political history include Colin Leys, *Underdevelopment in Kenya*, London, Heinemann, 1976, and Cranford Pratt, *The critical phase in Tanzania 1945-1968*, Cambridge University Press, 1976. A useful collection of comparative studies is contained in Joel Barkan and John Okumu, *Politics and public policy in Kenya and Tanzania*, New York, Praeger, 1978. On education itself recent research studies in Kenya are contained in David Court and Dharam Ghai (eds), *Education, society and development: new perspectives from Kenya*, Nairobi, Oxford University Press, 1974. For Tanzania see the relevant papers in Marjorie Mbilinyi (ed), *Who goes to school in East Africa*, University of Dar es Salaam, Department of Education, 1976.

The general point is clear. Both countries inherited a pattern of educational distribution which disproportionately favoured certain regions and groups and at the same time faced extensive demands for the wider provision of educational opportunity.

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[1] See Marjorie Mbilinyi, *The education of girls in Tanzania*, Dar es Salaam, Institute of Education, 1969, and Audrey Smock, 'Women's education and roles in Kenya', Working Paper No. 316, University of Nairobi, Institute for Development Studies, 1977.

[2] For an account of the growth of *Harambee* secondary schools see John Anderson, 'The Harambee schools: the impact of self-help', in Richard Jolly (ed), *Education in Africa*, Nairobi, East African Publishing House, 1969. The growth of the Provincial Institute of Technology is described in Martin Godfrey and Cyrus Mutiso, 'The political economy of self-help: Kenya's Harambee Institutes of Technology', in David Court and Dharam Ghai (eds), *Education, society and development: new perspectives from Kenya*, Nairobi, Oxford University Press, 1974.

This paper deliberately contrasts the similarity of the disparities problem faced by Kenya and Tanzania with the difference in chosen policy response. However, it is important to remember that there are also significant differences in the historical heritage from which Kenya and Tanzania had to fashion policy. In the first place, Kenya differed economically from Tanzania in that it was the colonial commercial centre for East Africa, had significant European settlement, and highly-concentrated areas of agricultural development. This brought economic advantage *vis-à-vis* its neighbours but also the problem inside the country of inequality arising from relative prosperity restricted to particular areas. Tanzania, by contrast, with a few highland exceptions, was more uniformly poor but did not have the same extremes of historical inequality as Kenya. Secondly, Tanzania did not have as harsh and internally divisive a struggle for Independence as Kenya. Thirdly, because Swahili was more widely spoken in Tanzania than in Kenya, Tanzania had the advantage of a lingua franca through which national commitment could be naturally promoted. Fourthly, and perhaps most important, the issue of regional disparity is less significant in Tanzania than Kenya. The importance of regional disparities as a source of political conflict is closely related to the degree of ethnic fragmentation. In Kenya regional differences are associated with the residential patterns of a small number of powerful ethnic groups. These differences—e.g. in educational access—provide the impetus for regional conflict because the resident ethnic groups are large enough to be significant political forces. By contrast, in Tanzania the degree of ethnic fragmentation is sufficiently great that, while there are one or two influential and privileged minorities, no single group is large enough or powerful enough to aspire to political dominance. Because regional differences are not as closely associated with ethnic differences as in Kenya regionalism is a relatively less explosive issue.

Nevertheless, in spite of the difference in the political significance of the regional issue in the two countries, it remains true that disparities contained within the administrative unit of Region in Tanzania and Province in Kenya continue to contribute a source of division in both countries which cannot be ignored in social and educational policy.

Kenya and Tanzania have, on the surface at least, adopted very different strategies for the alleviation of regional and individual disparities. At the heart of social policy in Tanzania is a direct attempt to reduce disparities between regions through the re-distribution of resources. This has been part of a broader policy of social transformation, emphasising the goals of socialism, rural development and self-reliance. It has aimed at the elimination, or at least reduction, of the outstanding disparities in wealth between individuals and regions.[1]

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[1] Tanzania's social policy is expressed in a variety of documents and most notably in *The Arusha declaration*. Dar es Salaam, 1967. Julius K. Nyerere *Socialism and rural development*. Dar es Salaam, Government Printer, 1967 and Julius K. Nyerere *Decentralization*. Dar es Salaam, Government Printer, 1972. A frank appraisal of Tanzania's developmental progress and experience in the past ten years is contained in Julius K. Nyerere. *The Arusha declaration, ten years after*. Dar es Salaam, Government Printer, 1977.

Education policy is part of this broad long-term programme of political and social transformation. It is expected to contribute comprehensively to the achievement of this programme in a number of ways, which will be examined in subsequent sections. The main aim has been to create a system which structurally is geared to mass rather than élite needs.[1] Following from this are a series of definitive objectives: the aim of making each stage a complete preparation for life rather than a step for further training; the inclusion of productive work as an integral part of the curriculum; the encouragement of measures which make schools self-supporting for their recurrent costs; an emphasis on practical and technical content; the supplementation of academic examinations by a broad range of assessment criteria; and the inclusion of general political education. Each of these elements is part of the specific purpose of building a new political consciousness involving the understanding and internalisation of a range of common attributes which cut across regional sentiments and together form the basis of Tanzanian citizenship. Among the most important of these values are a belief in service to society, in the value of productive labour, and in co-operative rather than individualistic behaviour and forms of production.[2]

Kenya's strategy for minimising the regional discontent attendant upon the kind of disparity which it harbours has been less concerned with a direct and comprehensive attempt at the regional distribution of resources such as has been attempted in Tanzania. The centralisation of political authority and the co-option of regional leadership has been coupled with some attempts at the re-allocation of resources and services, but more important has been the goal of growth itself as a regional equaliser.[3] The official expectation is not simply that growth ultimately expands opportunities for all, through the creation of new jobs in the national wage economy, but that this involves the spread of an ethos of opportunity with a homogenising impact which superimposes itself across regional variation. National unity is both a cause and a consequence of this process, and hence the constant message of perambulating ministers in Kenya extols the virtues of stability and unity as the basis of the economic expansion on which the well-being of all citizens depends. The main educational corollary of this rationale is the creation of a structure in which occupational access and income mobility are tied to a national certification system which solidifies and publicises the national opportunity structure to which all are summoned to relate.

Educational policy differs in principal essentials from that of Tanzania. Whereas Tanzania emphasises mass basic education and tries to treat each stage

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1. The two central documents are Julius K. Nyerere, *Education for self-reliance*, Dar es Salaam, Government Printer, 1967 and 'The directive on the implementation of education for self-reliance' (The Musoma Resolutions), reprinted in *Papers in education and development*, No. 3, University of Dar es Salaam, Department of Education, December 1976.
2. See Julius K. Nyerere, *Education for self-reliance*, Dar es Salaam, Government Printer, 1967.
3. The main statements of Kenya's development strategy are contained in Republic of Kenya, Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965, *African socialism*, and Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1973, *On employment*, Nairobi, Government Printer, 1965, 1973.

as terminal, the Kenyan concept is of a broad web of expanding opportunity for all to proceed to further levels. The Tanzanian aim to incorporate productive work as an integral part of the curriculum finds no reflection in Kenyan schools. Similarly, while Kenyan schools are expected in some unspecified manner to contribute to national unity, there is virtually no explicit political education. In contrast to Tanzania's attempt to downplay examinations, Kenya is placing ever-increasing emphasis upon academic qualifications as the touchstone of merit and opportunity.

Current worldwide re-appraisals of educational planning models stress decentralisation, participation and local relevance as the critical dimensions and contrast the 'bottom up' with the 'top down' approach.[1] While it is misleading to cast Tanzania and Kenya as polar extremes on a continuum of this sort, official policy statements in the two countries do imply very different conceptions of educational planning. Kenyan policy stresses national needs in trained manpower, centralised control, economic objectives and quantitative approaches, and assumes a continuation of the present structure of education. It views problems and disparities as a malfunctioning of the system, which can be relieved by alterations in curriculum content, expansion at both ends of the educational hierarchy, and by the more equitable manipulation of resources and opportunities. Educational policy in Tanzania, by contrast, is stressing mass and hence local needs as the object of policy, decentralised control and participatory planning, a broad range of economic and non-economic purposes and qualitative approaches to research. There is a willingness to view disparities as a consequence not of malfunctioning but of the inadequacies of the structure itself. Thus the search for improvement goes beyond the equitable manipulation of resources within the existing structure towards improvements which both reduce disparities and lead to a new logic of commonality in which remaining disparities seem less important than before.

We have emphasised the instructive potential of a comparison between Kenya and Tanzania. At the same time it should be evident from what has just been said that there are limitations to such comparison. The extent of difference between the two countries in their economic history, political philosophy, educational policy and degree of ethnic fragmentation makes it difficult to decide the most relevant basis for comparison. It is clearly not sufficient to use conventional criteria of academic attainment when the express objective in one case is to alter those criteria. In the same way the breadth of societal transformation which education in Tanzania is expected to assist, and the long-term timetable, make any assessment seem premature or partial and, in particular, make it difficult to separate out the independent role of education in what is happening. At the same time the sheer eloquence with which educational ideas have been expressed and amplified in Tanzania exerts an inherent fascination which tends to deter analysis and arouses in its place extremes of either passionate advocacy or scornful disparagement. For some, hard-nosed analysis seems almost

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1. These approaches are usefully reviewed in David R. Evans, 'Responsive educational planning: myth or reality?'. Paris, IIEP, 1976 (mimeo).

sacrilegious in face of the purity of the stated ideals, while for others, instant despair or contempt is inspired as soon as the gap between practice and intention reveals itself. A more practical obstacle is presented by the task of finding data in a sufficiently similar form to permit comparison.

However, these specific limitations to a comparison of Kenya and Tanzania do not invalidate the utility of the approach. The differences between the two countries in both policy conception and planning model are striking, but both countries have an overriding common objective which provides an ultimate basis for comparison. The objective is that of fashioning an integrated polity which can provide a framework for meaningful national development. Given that regional inequalities and role differentiation are deeply entrenched in both places—because of the colonial legacy, the growth of modern occupations and the compounding influence of ethnic differentials—education policy in both countries aims to secure a measure of popular acceptance of inequality by fostering a particular type of mass awareness. In Tanzania it is the common consciousness of national citizenship, while in Kenya it is acceptance of the meritocratic ideal. It is a matter of no small interest to consider whether these strategies are in any way able to minimise the threat to national development posed by manifest regional inequality.

Thus our purpose in this paper is not to seek a definitive judgement on two countries but rather to juxtapose two interesting and distinctive approaches to a similar problem. The hope is that this will distinguish some of the significant elements within the different approaches, will permit the identification of obstacles and dilemmas which both face, and will suggest implications for the planning process.

# II. Kenya: the politics of expansion

## A. The historical origins of regional inequality

An outline of the historical development of education in Kenya is essential for understanding the origins of the present regional inequalities. At the time of Independence in 1963 Kenya inherited an educational system which had been influenced by three distinct but inter-related social forces originating in the colonial situation. These forces determined the unequal distribution of educational resources and opportunities which were clearly observable in the early 1960s.[1]

The first social force shaping education during the colonial period was racialism, and the inequality in provision of education among the races was manifested in many ways. For example, the provision of secondary schools on the eve of Independence in 1963 reflected a racial pattern which was characteristic of the colonial mode of development. The secondary schools were concentrated in the areas near white settlements and urban centres. In 1963 about 30 per cent of all the secondary schools in the country were in the urban areas, and these mainly catered for the Asian and European communities. These communities formed about 3 per cent of the total Kenyan population, but about 30 per cent of the secondary schools throughout the country were for them. The expenditure on education reflected this same pattern of unequal educational provision.[2]

The second social force which shaped the pattern of African educational development was the impact of Christian evangelism which followed closely the impact of colonial penetration. With the completion of the Kenya-Uganda railway, most of the missionaries moved into the hinterlands of Kenya. The main missionary settlements were already inland by 1914, in the present Central, Nyanza and Western Provinces of Kenya. In Central Province these settlements were mainly in Kiambu and Nyeri districts, while a few were established in

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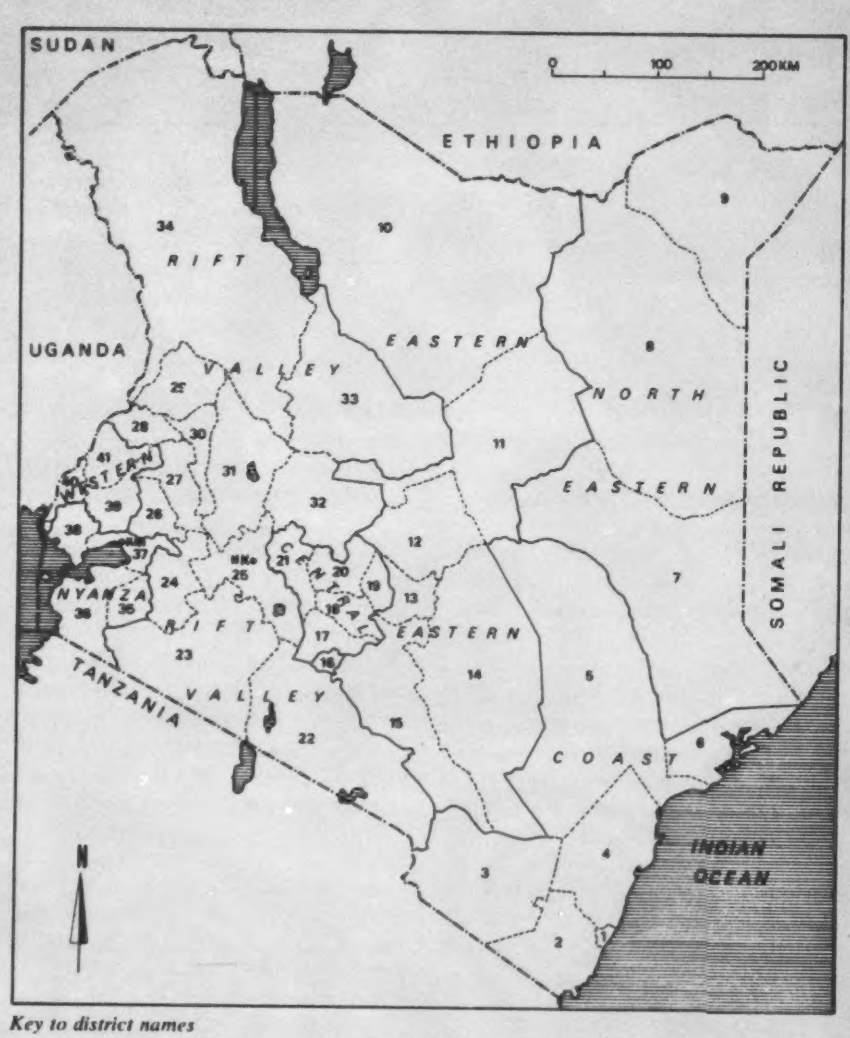
[1] A succint history of Kenyan education which stresses issues of regional disparity is contained in James R. Sheffield, *Education in Kenya*, New York, Teachers College Press, 1973.

[2] In 1926 per-pupil expenditure was the equivalent in $US of 34.4 for Africans, 37 for Asians and 180.5 for Europeans. James R. Sheffield, *Education in Kenya*.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*Key to district names*

1 Mombasa
2 Kwale
3 Taita
4 Kilifi
5 Tana River
6 Lamu
7 Garissa
8 Wajir
9 Mandera
10 Marsabit
11 Isiolo

12 Meru
13 Embu
14 Kitui
15 Machakos
16 Nairobi
17 Kiambu
18 Muranga
19 Kirinyaga
20 Nyeri
21 Nyandarua
22 Kajiado

23 Narok
24 Kericho
25 Nakuru
26 Nandi
27 Uasin Gishu
28 Tranzoia Nzoia
29 West Pokot
30 Elgeyo Marakwet
31 Baringo
32 Laikipia
33 Samburu

34 Turkana
35 Kisii
36 S. Nyanza
37 Kisumu
38 Slaya
39 Kakamega
40 Busia
41 Bungoma

KM Kisumu Town
NK Nakuru Town

Murang'a district. The districts in Western Kenya where missionaries were especially active were Kakamega in Western Province and Siaya, Kisumu and Kisii in Nyanza Province. Some of these districts in Western Kenya, as in Central Province, which had early contact with missionaries have contributed a large proportion of the élite of modern Kenya. The contribution of the Christian missions in the field of education was strengthened by the fact that the colonial state to a large extent relied on the missionary groups for the development of African education. Hence most of the colonial revenue for African education was channelled through missionary organisations. Although further missionary settlements were founded after the First World War, and the colonial state opened a few African government schools, the early pattern of concentration remained fundamentally unaltered.

The African response to this Western cultural invasion, in the form of Christianity and education, was the third force in the development of education in Kenya. This response differed from one place to another and took many forms. In some areas it manifested itself in the form of independent churches, particularly in Western Kenya, while in Central Province the African response to missionary control took the form of an educational revolt in the 1930s and the establishment of independent schools. The Kikuyu Independent School Association established schools in Nyeri and Murang'a districts, while the Kikuyu Karing'a Association was active in South Kiambu, Rift Valley and some parts of Nyanza Province.[1]

A further channel for African initiative in the field of education was opened in 1924, when the colonial government established local government administration in which African people were to be represented. The Africans seized the opportunity offered by the establishment of the Local Native Councils to tax themselves to finance education and to open up new elementary schools. This policy of entrusting local authorities with the responsibility for financing and developing primary education had two potential consequences for the emergence of educational inequalities. The relatively rich districts could raise more money through taxation and thereby pay for more schools and teachers, while the poor areas had to struggle to maintain the few schools they had. Secondly, the local authorities channelled their educational funds through the existing missionary and independent school organisations. This meant that the areas where there was strong pressure for education and where an organisational base already existed benefited more than those areas without missionary or local organisational structures. This policy of entrusting local authorities with the responsibility for financing and promoting primary education continued into the 1950s with the establishment of African District Councils and into the 1960s when county councils were established, and it continued to have the same inequitable effect.

The existence of three systems of education for the different racial groups in colonial Kenya, the missionary activities and African response and initiatives in education must be seen in the context of the racial division of labour in the colonial economy and in the emergence of the uneven development of ethnic communities and regions. The development of the settler enclave and the urban commercial centres, as the core of the colonial economy, had a profound impact on the uneven spatial development of the country, which was manifested in the unequal regional development of education.

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[1] See John Anderson, *The struggle for the school*, Nairobi, Longman, 1970.

These political and socio-economic forces just described shaped the development of education and the pattern of inequalities which have persisted during fifteen years of independence. There are substantial disparities both between and within Provinces with regard to the proportion of the primary age-group actually in school, the distribution of secondary-school places, the opportunity to continue with further education, and so forth. To these main dimensions of regional disparity we now turn.

## B. Provincial and district disparities in primary education

The outstanding feature of Kenyan education since Independence has been the rate of expansion. As Table 1 shows, primary school enrolment tripled between 1965 and 1975 and now stands at almost three million. The great leap forward occurred in 1974, when fees for the first four years of school were abolished and enrolment in some provinces almost doubled in consequence over the previous year. The percentage columns give an inflated picture of actual national

TABLE 1. Enrolment in primary school 1965-76 as a percentage of the projected school-age population (6-13)

| Province | 1965 Enrolment | Percentage of population aged 6-13 | 1971 Enrolment | Percentage of population aged 6-13 | 1975 Enrolment | Percentage of population aged 6-13 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | % | | % | | % |
| Central | 238 001 | 68 | 371 913 | 90 | 571 583 | 116 |
| Coast | 57 523 | 33 | 87 845 | 43 | 160 156 | 67 |
| Eastern | 199 107 | 52 | 315 454 | 71 | 543 222 | 103 |
| N. Eastern | 912 | 2 | 4 668 | 9 | 7 507 | 9 |
| Nyanza | 162 229 | 36 | 248 990 | 47 | 550 580 | 87 |
| Rift Valley | 161 272 | 35 | 228 797 | 43 | 530 646 | 83 |
| Western | 146 679 | 51 | 200 708 | 61 | 446 185 | 113 |
| Nairobi | 45 096 | 57 | 67 523 | 72 | 84 738 | 76 |
| Kenya | 1 010 889 | 45 | 1 525 498 | 59 | 2 894 617 | 93 |

SOURCE *Ministry of Education annual report*, 1965 and 1971.
*Kenya statistical digest*. Vol. X No. 3, September 1972.
*Social perspectives*. Vol. 2 No. 5, October 1977.

enrolment. This results from two main factors. It is generally agreed now that the original basis for the population projections used in the calculation was substantially understated. More important is the prevalence of incorrect reporting of ages of pupils. Parents tend to overstate the ages of young children in order to secure their early entry to primary school, but later will tend to understate the ages of older children in order to offset the effect of repeating, which is widespread in the upper classes of primary school. Figures for repeating are known to far exceed official returns and also to vary by region because of the tendency of pupils to repeat in a different school or district from that of their first sitting. However, no national figure of relative repeater rates for districts is available because the data are by definition very elusive. Data from three areas—Rift Valley, Vihiga and Nyeri—suggest that as many as 35 per cent of any given Standard 7 cohort repeats the examination the following year and that the average amount of time spent in primary school is at least 8.5 years rather than the ostensible seven.[1]

*1. Enrolment.* The important issue for present purposes is that national figures on access to primary education hide sizeable provincial differences. Central Province is enrolling over 100 per cent of the age-cohort, with Coast, Rift Valley and North Eastern Provinces lagging well behind. Furthermore, as Table 2 shows, disparities are substantial within as well as between provinces. On the basis of the data presented in Table 2 we can divide the country into three groups according to the proportion of school-age population in school. The first group consists of twenty districts with an enrolment ratio above the national average. These are: all districts in Central and Western Province; Taita Taveta and Lamu in Coast Province; Embu, Machakos and Kitui in Eastern Province; Laikipia, Nandi and TransNzoia in Rift Valley Province and Kisii, Siaya and Kisumu in Nyanza Province. Districts in this most-privileged category are of two main historical types—those which made up the former African 'reserves' and those created from the former White Highlands. The former African reserve districts are Kiambu, Murang'a, Nyeri, Embu, Taita Taveta, Bungoma and Kakamega. These are some of the districts that experienced land expropriation in the early days of colonisation and provided most of the labour force that was utilised in the development of the enclave. In the 1950s and the 1960s the population became extensively involved in commodity production—coffee, tea, milk, sugar cane and maize. Land consolidation and registration started in the first four districts in 1956 and in the last two in 1963. Land reform has been crucial for the extension of credit and agricultural technical services to smallholder commodity producers.

As has been mentioned, these were among the districts in the colonial period

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[1] See Kenneth King, 'Primary schools in Kenya: some critical constraints on their effectiveness', Joyce Moock, 'Pragmatism and the primary school: the case of a non-rural village', and Tony Somerset, 'Who goes to secondary school? Relevance, reliability and equity in secondary school selection', all in Court and Ghai, *Education, society and development.*

TABLE 2. The proportion of school-age children (6-13) enrolled in primary school by district, 1971 and 1975

| Province | District | No. of children in school as a proportion of projected 6-13 school-age population<br>1971 | <br>1975 |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | % | % |
| Central | Kiambu | 99 | 112 |
| | Kirinyaga | 67 | 107 |
| | Murang'a | 95 | 124 |
| | Nyandarua | 80 | 112 |
| | Nyeri | 97 | 120 |
| Coast | Kilifi | 31 | 56 |
| | Kwale | 33 | 68 |
| | Lamu | 29 | 101 |
| | Taita Taveta | 71 | 99 |
| | Tana River | 41 | 61 |
| | Mombasa | 58 | 65 |
| Eastern | Embu | 67 | 107 |
| | Isiolo | 52 | 59 |
| | Kitui | 56 | 96 |
| | Marsabit | 31 | 38 |
| | Machakos | 89 | 129 |
| | Meru | 62 | 92 |
| North Eastern | Garissa | 15 | 16 |
| | Mandera | 5 | 8 |
| | Wajir | 8 | 11 |
| Nyanza | Kisii | 52 | 114 |
| | Kisumu | 48 | 99 |
| | Siaya | 57 | 100 |
| | South Nyanza | 36 | 80 |
| Rift Valley | Baringo | 38 | 90 |
| | Nakuru | 48 | 91 |
| | Laikipia | 71 | 120 |
| | Narok | 26 | 50 |
| | Kajiado | 45 | 69 |
| | Kericho | 41 | 73 |
| | Samburu | 16 | 21 |
| | E/Marakwet | 39 | 85 |
| | Nandi | 51 | 102 |
| | Uasin Gishu | 39 | 76 |
| | West Pokot | 25 | 54 |
| | TransNzoia | 49 | 99 |
| | Turkana | 5 | 11 |
| Western | Bungoma | 63 | 113 |
| | Busia | 49 | 102 |
| | Kakamega | 62 | 116 |
| Nairobi | | 72 | 77 |

SOURCE *Ministry of Education annual report* 1971 and 1975.
*Kenya statistical digest.*

which positively and enthusiastically welcomed western education, and through the local authorities taxed themselves heavily to build an extensive primary-school system. In the post-colonial period this interest has continued, and past advantages have been consolidated into further development in education at all levels. These are economically and politically powerful districts in the country and have utilised their positions to maintain leadership in education. Migrations from these districts in the last 15 years into other rural districts and urban centres in search of better opportunities have been relatively higher than in other districts.

The districts in the former White Highlands were created as a result of land reforms consequent upon the attainment of Independence. These are Nyandarua, Laikipia, Nakuru, Uasin Gishu and TransNzoia. The population in these districts is composed of former squatters and labourers, and the new settlers. The new settlers have come mainly from the districts in Central and Western provinces with long-established traditions of involvement in education and the money economy. A large proportion of the Africans who bought farms in these areas are on the average better-educated. They are frequently among those who had privileged access to educational facilities in the colonial period.

A third category of districts which have high rates of participation of school-age population in primary schools were not physically close to the white enclave but had contact with mission groups and the colonial economy. For example, Kisii and Meru were the first African districts in Kenya to be allowed to grow coffee in the 1930s, and until the early 1960s accounted for most of the peasant coffee production. Masaku district was fully involved in the colonial economy by 1925 and the development of education through missionary groups and Local Native Councils was thereafter much emphasised.

In contrast to these high-participation districts there are thirteen districts listed in Table 2 which have less than two-thirds of their school-age population enrolled in school. These are the agricultural districts of Coast Province—Kilifi, Kwale and Tana River—all three districts in North Eastern Province and Kajiado, Narok, West Pokot, Samburu and Turkana in Rift Valley Province. In the case of the Coast, resistance to missionary evangelism and the prevalence of non-recorded Koranic schools explain the figures. The other low-participation districts are in arid and semi-arid parts of the country and have in the past been mainly involved in a pastoral economy.

Between the extreme categories is a third category which is most interesting for the fact that it contains three of the four main urban centres of Kenya, i.e. Nairobi, Mombasa and Nakuru. The relatively low figures of primary-school enrolment for these centres are explained by two factors. In the first place, while participation is universal among high- and medium-income groups, it may well be very low among the urban poor and unemployed. The rising urban squatter settlements in these towns point to this likelihood. At the same time part of the explanation is contained in the practice whereby children are frequently registered in the father's place of urban work but are at some stage sent back to school in their rural area where frequently the mother resides.

A second group of districts in this medium-participation category contains Baringo, Kajiado and TransNzoia. In the colonial period these three areas were relatively deprived of education, but in the past ten years education has developed steadily. The momentum for educational growth has come mainly from the population which has migrated into these districts from Central and Western provinces, with the result that these districts have had the highest rate of growth in primary education in the country. In drawing attention to the surprisingly low rates of primary enrolment in the urban centres we need to recall that the urban population as a whole has a relatively high level of educational attainment. The concentration of employment opportunities in Nairobi and Mombasa means that these two centres in particular tend to monopolise educated manpower. While awaiting the results of the 1979 census in Kenya we can only guess at how great this concentration is and how other areas fare in this most critical dimension of educational disparity.

2. *The distribution of qualified teachers*. The qualification level of the teaching force is one important index of the quality of educational provision. In 1972 there were 42,000 professionally qualified teachers, amounting to 77 per cent of the total teaching force, in primary schools. The distribution of these teachers between rural districts and urban centres shows 14 districts had slightly more than their equal share of professionally qualified teachers. Twelve districts had equal share of qualified teachers and 17 districts had less than their share. On the whole, the regional distribution of qualified teachers is equitable.

However, the urban areas are clearly favoured over the rural districts. The urban centres of Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru and Kisumu had over 94 per cent of their teaching force professionally qualified. The rural districts had an average of about 75 per cent of their teachers qualified. A further advantage of urban centres in 1972 was that about 65 per cent of the urban teaching force had secondary education or more. Except for 10 rural districts—Kiambu, Kirinyaga, Nyeri, Embu, Kisumu, Siaya, TransNzoia, Bungoma, Busia and Kakamega—where the qualified teachers made up more than 80 per cent of the teaching force, the other rural districts had between 20 and 45 per cent unqualified primary-school teachers. The bulk of the qualified teachers in these districts were, however, those who had less than secondary education before entering the teaching profession.

While the rural areas have been losing qualified teachers, urban centres such as Nairobi have been gaining them, not only because the better facilities in the city attract qualified African teachers but also because the large European and Asian communities provide a reservoir of much-needed staff. The Nairobi Education Department has also been recruiting specialist teachers for some subjects from overseas countries. However, the significance of teacher quality lies in its impact upon examination performance and here the important dimension is less the distribution by region than the distribution by type of school, which is discussed in a subsequent section.

*3. The allocation of financial resources.* Another important aspect of resource allocation is the distribution of available funds for education among the different districts, urban centres and social groups.

Until the passing of the Local Government (Transfer of Functions) Act of 1969, the county and municipal councils had substantial responsibilities for the financing and development of primary education. These responsibilities were shifted to central government because the policy of local authorities financing education had caused many problems, one of which was the inability of many county councils to carry out a balanced and smooth development of elementary education. Rural primary education is now controlled by the District Education Boards (DEBs) which were established in June 1971, among other things to administer education funds and to prepare plans for promotion and development of elementary education in their respective areas. The municipalities continued to be responsible for financing and promoting education in urban centres, but their independence in this area has been limited by lack of funds and by the fact that the Teachers Service Commission (TSC), established in 1967, is the employer of almost all teachers who fall under the jurisdiction of educational authorities in the municipalities.

Central Government has direct responsibility for rural primary education through its central administration and supervision and through its operation of the Kenya Schools Equipment Scheme, which supplies school equipment. This scheme could potentially equalise the expenditures on school equipment all over the country. The funds allocated to this scheme, to the District Education Boards and to the Teachers Service Commission make up the major public expenditures on rural primary education. Further public funds are spent on primary education by the municipalities.

Teachers' salaries account for over 70 per cent of the expenditure on primary education. The regional distribution of funds for teachers' salaries depends on the distribution of teachers and their qualifications and length of service. Thus it follows that the urban areas and the rural districts which have more highly-qualified and longer-service teachers also receive more funds in teachers' salaries. Analysis of the regional distribution of allocation of teachers' salaries in 39 rural districts and qualified teachers in 1972 showed a high correlation ($r = 0.925$). The mean expenditure per pupil per district was Shillings 202.25, with a standard deviation of 83.77. This indicates that there is very low variation between districts in allocation of funds for teachers' salaries. As we pointed out earlier, qualified teachers are relatively evenly distributed between the rural districts.

A notable equalisation measure is the allocation of substantial funds to backward and educationally deprived districts for the maintenance of primary boarding schools. In the financial year 1973/74, for example, 4.3 million shillings were allocated to 22 districts in Coast, Eastern, North Eastern and Rift Valley Provinces. Some of these educationally backward districts, with a total enrolment of about 32,000 pupils, also benefited from the remission of fees before this was instituted on a national basis for the first four years in 1974.

These policies seem to stem from two factors. First, they recognise that the people in these districts received less attention in educational development in the colonial period and must therefore receive increased attention if they are to catch up with the rest of the country. Secondly, they are a response to the poverty of the people in these districts, which means that if they were left on their own to develop their primary education as other rural communities are required to do, they could not possibly break out of their relative backwardness. The provision of boarding-school facilities is also a specific attempt to deal with the problem of provision of education among the pastoral communities. In recent years these areas have also been penetrated by people from the developed districts, who have settled on some of the high-potential lands in these districts. Furthermore, the movement of children from the more developed districts to these educationally backward districts is a common phenomenon, so that public funds expended on education in a particular district may not just benefit the children of that district. Theoretically, there may be nothing wrong with school-children moving from one district to another, especially since national integration is one of the educational goals, but problems occur when this mobility is in one direction only and when it tends to deprive communities of educational opportunities within their own districts.

*4. Private expenditure on education.* Consideration of the distribution of expenditures on education by individuals is an important complement to the discussion of the distribution of public funds, although there are obvious limitations to such discussion because private expenditure is not usually documented systematically and is difficult to estimate. Before the announcement of 'free' primary education for the first four years, peasants had to spend about 60 shillings a year out of an average annual income of approximately 1,200 shillings. The burden still remains, although the expenditures are no longer termed fees. In addition to the school fees for classes five and six—which both rural and urban parents are required to pay—the peasantry is further required to pay for the building of staff houses, classrooms, maintenance of the school buildings and the cost of other facilities which are needed in primary schools. The parents in the urban areas are not required to pay for the initial building of staff houses and classrooms. The rural communities meet these expenses with little help from outside, so that a school-building committee exists for every rural primary school. Although this kind of self-help activity is widespread in the country and is making a major contribution to education, it does not receive a great deal of publicity.

It is not surprising that some rural families do not send all their children to school even when facilities are available. Sometimes parents are also forced to withdraw their children from school owing to lack of fees. When a family has to make a decision on who is to be educated, girls are the first to be left out and the first to be withdrawn from school when funds are short. Education in rural communities also occasionally suffers from natural disasters, such as droughts or crop failures, and the arid and semi-arid parts of Coast, Eastern, North

Eastern and Rift Valley provinces are often affected in this way. The low enrolment figures in these areas may be partially attributed to rural poverty, which is made worse by occasional droughts.

## C. Disparities within districts and urban centres

In addition to differences between districts and urban centres it is important to point out that there are sizeable disparities within each rural district or urban centre in the way that educational opportunities are shared. Intra-district differences in the distribution of education take two main dimensions. First there are differences between areas within the district which follow the pattern of economic activities dominant in each area and frequently take ethnic characteristics. An example of these kinds of differences is to be found in a district such as Baringo, where internal disparities are well defined between Eastern, Kabarnet and Eldama Ravine divisions. These internal differences also take ethnic characteristics in a district such as this which is inhabited by four ethnic groups. In a district such as Kiambu, which is inhabited by one ethnic group, internal differences do not assume ethnic proportions.

The second dimension of within-district difference is that between social groups. In the rural communities the differences are mainly between the 'progressive' farmers on the one hand and poorer farmers and rural labourers on the other. The differences are attributable mainly to inequalities in land ownership, the uneven adoption of agricultural innovations, and to unequal access to credit for commodity production and to other Government services. Peasants who have successfully adopted agricultural innovations have been able to raise their incomes substantially and have therefore been better placed to pay for their children's education than the poorer peasants and labourers. Some research on rural development in different parts of the country has provided insights into this process through analysis of individual household decision-making.[1]. However, the process is most clearly visible in towns because of the concentration there of an urban élite and distinct differences in income and life-style, and we will illustrate it mainly by data from Nairobi.

The kinds of group differences in access and enrolment which have been referred to are compounded by differences in the quality of education to which different groups have access. These differences between social groups in the urban centres are provided for in the educational system by differentiation of schools at all levels. In Nairobi and other major urban centres the public primary schools are divided into three main categories of A, B, and C, with an additional category of 'Assisted' schools which are operated by voluntary agencies and

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1. See, for example, Michal Cowen, 'Differentiation in a Kenya location', Paper No. 16, East African Universities Social Science Council, Annual Conference, Nairobi, 1972, Diana Hunt, 'Income distribution in Meru households', University of Nairobi, Institute for Development Studies, occasional Paper No. 20, 1974, and Judith Heyer, 'Achievements, problems and prospects in the agricultural sector', in Judith Heyer, Joseph Maitha and William Senga (eds), *Agricultural development in Kenya*, Nairobi, Oxford University Press, 1976.

receive partial assistance from public funds. In addition there are private schools which cater to both citizens and non-citizens, but these do not receive public funds. The classification of schools supported from public sources, with which we are concerned here, corresponds to the virtually segregated categories of the colonial period. Thus the categories A, B and C refer to schools which in the colonial period were attended by Africans, Indians and Europeans respectively. Although racial exclusiveness no longer applies, these school types retain a differential quality in terms of fees charged, facilities available, qualifications of teachers and above all in their relative performance in the primary-school leaving examination—the CPE—which determines access to secondary-school places and hence subsequent opportunity. Although virtually all pupils in all public primary schools are now African, access to the different types is governed by ability to pay the requisite fees and competence in English, which many of the Schedule C schools now test with a small exam or ensure by forming their own pre-primary wings. Because access to the better schools is restricted, competition for entry intense and English Language critical, many parents now send their children to pre-primary schools in an effort to improve their competitive advantage and chance of entry to Schedule C primary schools. Fees at these nursery schools go as high as Shs 3,500 per year—i.e. substantially more than the cost of primary school itself—and the effect of this is essentially to restrict access to Schedule C schools to children of high-income families.

The quality differences between the types of school can be illustrated by reference to the distribution of teachers, relative performance on the CPE examination and ability to provide access to Government secondary schools. Although some of the data refer to the period five years ago the pattern has not altered, while the numbers have greatly increased.

Although teacher qualifications are not the only measure of the quality of education, they are important. In 1972, as Table 3 shows, 32 per cent of teachers

TABLE 3. The distribution of primary-school teachers in Nairobi, 1972

| Teacher qualification | Category of schools | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | A | B | C | D | Total |
| | % | % | % | % | % |
| Graduate | 0.1 | 1.2 | 32.3 | 9.1 | 3.4 (72) |
| Secondary teacher 1 | 4.1 | 14.4 | 26.0 | 8.4 | 7.6 (159) |
| Primary teacher 1 | 18.8 | 46.8 | 35.4 | 49.6 | 28.5 (593) |
| Primary teacher 2 | 28.0 | 19.6 | 3.1 | 10.5 | 22.8 (474) |
| Primary teacher 3 | 44.2 | 16.5 | 1.6 | 8.4 | 32.4 (674) |
| Other | 4.8 | 1.5 | 1.6 | 14.0 | 5.3 (111) |
| Total | 100.0<br>(1,343) | 100.0<br>(327) | 100.0<br>(127) | 100.0<br>(286) | 100.0<br>(2,083) |

SOURCE City of Nairobi, Department of Education *Annual report*, 1972.

TABLE 4. Performance in CPE—Nairobi schools, 1971

| Category of school | Mean total score in CPE | Mean score English | Mean score Maths | No. of pupils |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Low-cost schools (A) | 46.7 | 54.1 | 37.4 | 4,005 |
| Medium-cost schools (B) | 55.6 | 63.1 | 52.9 | 1,080 |
| High-cost schools (C) | 63.6 | 76.5 | 57.4 | 329 |
| Assisted schools (D) | 57.4 | 72.1 | 46.0 | 1,027 |
| All schools | 51.2 | 59.4 | 43.8 | 6,441 |

SOURCE City Council of Nairobi, *Annual report of the City Education Department*, 1971.

in C schools were graduates as compared to 9 per cent in D (assisted) schools, a mere 1 per cent in B schools and virtually none at all in A schools. This pattern was also observable in the distribution of secondary-school grade-one teachers. The pattern is naturally reversed for the case of the less-educated teachers—primary teachers of grades two and three. The distribution of qualified teachers is clearly in favour of C schools, followed by B, D and A schools, in that order.

Teachers, parents, pupils and the rest of society tend to judge the quality of primary education at each school by how well the pupils perform on the Certificate of Primary Education examination and by how many are given places in Government-maintained secondary schools. Table 4 provides data on the average performance of the four categories of school in English, Mathematics and the combined score for the CPE examination as a whole in 1971. The difference in performance between the four categories of school is very striking and, as the Table shows, is reflected in relative access to the limited number of places in Government-maintained secondary schools.

These differences can be understood in the context of a number of factors. The first is the effect of pre-primary education. Research on the structure of pre-school education in Nairobi has shown that high-cost primary schools are informally connected to high-cost pre-primary schools where pre-selection for Standard One intake is done, and similar networks exist for the other categories of primary school.[1] The second factor which seems to account for differential performance is the educational background and professional qualification of teachers in the different categories of school. More generally the medium- and high-cost primary schools have better educational facilities than the low-cost schools. A third and more important general explanation for the differences between the various categories of school performance and quality is the family background of the children attending these schools, and in particular the oppor-

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[1] See O.N. Gakuru, 'Pre-primary education and access to educational opportunities in Nairobi', Working Paper No. 321, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, 1977.

TABLE 5. Opportunities for secondary school—Nairobi schools, 1972

| Category of schools | No. of schools | Proportion of total primary enrolment | No. of CPE candidates | Proportion admitted to aided secondary schools |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | % | | % |
| Low-cost schools | 72 | 76 | 4 595 | 22 |
| Medium-cost schools | 12 | 11 | 963 | 43 |
| High-cost schools | 7 | 4 | 317 | 89 |
| Assisted schools | 15 | 9 | 978 | 56 |
| All schools | 118 | 100 | 6,853 | 33 |

tunity provided for exposure to English. All of these add up to the differences that are discernible in the CPE performance. CPE performance in turn determines access to Government secondary schools, and the relative performance of the different types of primary school in Nairobi in 1972 is illustrated in Table 5.

The above data can be put in the present national context. In 1976 approximately one-quarter of a million pupils sat for the CPE examination, and of these approximately 30,000 found places in Government-maintained secondary schools. The continuation rate for the country as a whole was 14 per cent, but for the Nairobi Schedule C schools it was 80 per cent and virtually all those who did not meet performance requirements for a Government-aided school continued their education at a high-cost secondary school.[1] Provincial continuation rates for 1975 are shown in Table 7, and of particular interest are the comparisons between access to aided and unaided secondary schools, which are discussed in the following section.

Rural schools are not as clearly differentiated as the urban schools. Although a number of private and partially assisted primary schools can be found, most of the rural schools fall into the category which in urban areas would define them as A schools. Table 6 reports the results of an analysis of CPE performance in English between three samples: rural low-cost, urban low-cost and urban high-cost primary schools. As the Table shows, the performance of pupils in rural and urban low-cost schools is not significantly different, while the difference between both categories of low-cost school and the high-cost urban schools is sizeable. Although urban A schools have better school buildings and equipment and better supervision than rural schools, the composition of the school population and the teachers allocated to them does not differ much from those in rural low-cost primary schools. The inference would be that the

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[1] See H.C.A. Somerset, 'Aptitude tests, socio-economic background, and secondary school selection', paper presented to a Rockefeller Foundation Conference on Social Science Research and Educational Effectiveness, Bellagio, Italy, July 25-29, 1977.

TABLE 6. CPE performance in English for rural and urban schools, 1974

| Category of schools | Mean English Mark out of 70 | % | Standard deviation | N |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rural A | 35.64 | 50.91 | 9.68 | 9,388 |
| Urban A (Nairobi) | 37.15 | 53.07 | 10.77 | 1,000 |
| Urban B (Nairobi) | 57.53 | 82.19 | 7.87 | 528 |

SOURCE H.C.A. Somerset, *An item analysis of 1974 Certificate of Primary Education*, mimeo, 1977.

socio-economic background of pupils is a more important determinant of performance than the quality of buildings and equipment. The detailed evidence to support this contention is still lacking for the Kenyan context, although data from other countries would support this explanation.

The differences between types of school within urban areas and between rural and urban schools are readily explained by reference to socio-economic background and school quality factors. What are perhaps more interesting are differences between and within rural areas. Perhaps the most striking illustration of regional disparity is contained in a comparison of inter-district performance in the CPE examinations. An analysis of performance in 26 rural districts which offered more than 2,000 candidates in the CPE revealed sizeable differences in mean district performance. Thus, for example, the best district in the sample had a mean standard score of 59.15 in the English paper while the worst district had a score of 40.22, and the pattern repeated itself for the other two papers which make up the examination. This level of difference is all the more remarkable because the two areas contributing extremes of performance difference—the urban centres and pastoral areas—are not included in this analysis. The interest of such data lies in the fact that because rural schools are relatively less subject to socio-economic differentiation in their composition than urban schools explanations for the differential performance are corrrespondingly more likely to be found in school quality factors. Such factors are more within the control of educational planners than those rooted in socio-economic differences.

## D. The distribution of secondary-school opportunities

Secondary schools in Kenya can be categorised according to their recruitment base. There are some which recruit nationally and these are called national schools. Some of the national catchment schools were formerly European schools, and until 1973 they were designated high-cost schools. In all they number about twenty and provide about 10 per cent of the total number of Form I places available in Government-aided schools. The provincial schools, which form the major category of Government-aided schools, recruit their Form I intake mainly from the provinces where they are located. They are predominantly new secondary schools, started in the last fifteen years, and number about four hundred. These, together with the national catchment schools, provided Form 1 opportunities for about 13 per cent of the 250,000 candidates in 1976. Another 20 per cent are absorbed in self-help secondary schools and private profit-oriented schools. These two types of school make up the broad category of schools called unaided schools. The *Harambee* secondary schools have a very limited local catchment area, which in most cases is the district where they are located, and no performance limit on recruitment. The profit-oriented private secondary schools are mainly in the urban centres. For the purpose of our discussion here we categorize secondary schools broadly into Central Government-aided schools and the mainly self-help unaided schools. We look at the distribution of secondary-school opportunities and places.

Table 7 shows the change in the distribution of Form I places at both Government and unaided secondary schools over the five-year period between 1970 and 1975. Several points stand out in the Table. The main general point is the extent of expansion as a whole and of unaided places in particular. Form I places at aided schools rose from 20,378 to 28,663, while unaided places practically trebled, rising from 15,425 to 45,037. The main beneficiary and exemplar of this trend was Central Province which, despite a sizeable expansion in Standard 7 enrolments, increased its proportion of places in aided secondary

TABLE 7. Form I opportunities for CPE candidates 1970 and 1975 by type of school and province

| | 1970 | Proportion gaining Form I places | | 1975 | Proportion gaining Form I places | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Province | Candidates | Aided | Unaided | Candidates | Aided | Unaided |
| Central | 36 948 | 4 427<br>(11%) | 1 903<br>(5%) | 50 361 | 6 550<br>(13%) | 11 072<br>(22%) |
| Coast | 8 429 | 1 767<br>(21%) | 1 603<br>(19%) | 12 479 | 2 084<br>(16%) | 2 533<br>(20%) |
| Eastern | 29,560 | 2 832<br>(9%) | 1 963<br>(7%) | 42 059 | 4 379<br>(10%) | 9 153<br>(22%) |
| N. Eastern | 229 | 38<br>(17%) | — | 547 | 151<br>(28%) | — |
| Nyanza | 30 708 | 2 722<br>(9%) | 2 522<br>(8%) | 43 412 | 4 109<br>(9%) | 6 660<br>(15%) |
| Rift Valley | 22 063 | 2 766<br>(12%) | 2 291<br>(10%) | 31 782 | 4 162<br>(13%) | 5 623<br>(18%) |
| Western | 23 218 | 2 741<br>(12%) | 1 823<br>(8%) | 30 422 | 3 836<br>(13%) | 7 274<br>(24%) |
| Nairobi | 6 085 | 3 085<br>(51%) | 3 320<br>(55%) | 8 488 | 3 392<br>(40%) | 2 722<br>(32%) |
| Kenya | 157 240 | 20 378<br>(12%) | 15 425<br>(13%) | 219 550 | 28 663<br>(13%) | 45·037<br>(21%) |

SOURCE Ministry of Education Annual Reports.

schools by a larger margin than any other province with the exception of North Eastern Province, which is a special case. Furthermore, it also showed the largest single increase in unaided school places over the period in question. The figures for Nairobi need to be interpreted with caution. The probability of gaining a secondary-school place from a Nairobi primary school is greater than from a rural primary school, but as we have seen, access within Nairobi depends heavily upon the kind of primary, and increasingly the type of pre-primary, school that a pupil attends. The probabilities suggested by the Table are misleading, as they reflect the concentration of national-catchment secondary schools in the city and the influx to them of those from outside. Thus recruitment to Form I places in Nairobi secondary schools is open to candidates who sit for the CPE examination in the provinces and not simply those from city primary schools. In the case of unaided schools access is determined almost entirely by one's ability to meet the fees which are charged.

Table 8 shows the total distribution of opportunities at the two types of school over the eight-year period 1968-1976. Again the regional disparities are clear. Central Province with less than 15 per cent of the national population had 21 per cent of aided school places and 24 per cent of unaided places in 1968 and, while

TABLE 8. Distribution of secondary-school places by type of school, province and provincial population, 1968 and 1976

| | | Proportion of total places | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1968 | | 1976 | |
| Province | Proportion of National Population 1969 | Aided | Unaided | Aided | Unaided |
| Central | 15.3% | 20.8%<br>(11 790) | 24.6%<br>(11 035) | 22.4%<br>(26 583) | 24.8%<br>(40 098) |
| Coast | 8.7% | 9.4%<br>(5 335) | 7.9%<br>(3.530) | 7.6%<br>(9 066) | 4.6%<br>(7 442) |
| Eastern | 17.4% | 11.3%<br>(6 399) | 10.6%<br>(4 748) | 15.2%<br>(17 938) | 16.8%<br>(27 202) |
| N. Eastern | 2.2% | 0.2%<br>(112) | — | 0.5%<br>(638) | — |
| Nyanza | 19.4% | 11.9%<br>(6 740) | 13.8%<br>(6 192) | 15.2%<br>(18 050) | 17.3%<br>(28 017) |
| Rift Valley | 20.2% | 12.9%<br>(7 281) | 10.9%<br>(4 899) | 14.4%<br>(17 089) | 10.8%<br>(17 425) |
| Western | 12.2% | 11.3%<br>(6 421) | 9.4%<br>(4 208) | 11.6%<br>(13 810) | 17.9%<br>(28 982) |
| Nairobi | 4.7% | 22.0%<br>(12 458) | 22.8%<br>(10 203) | 13.0%<br>(15 461) | 7.8%<br>(12 587) |
| Kenya | 100.0% | 100.0%<br>(56 546) | 100.0%<br>(44 815) | 100.0%<br>(118 635) | 100.0%<br>(161 753) |

SOURCE Ministry of Education Annual Report.
Republic of Kenya Census 1969.

more than doubling the number of aided places and almost quadrupling the number of unaided places, increased its proportion of total places of the two types. The other provinces, with the exception of the Coast and Nairobi, increased their share of Government school places but without reaching a point corresponding to their share of the national population. A disadvantaged area in this regard was Rift Valley, which in 1975 had only 14 per cent of Government school places in relation to its 1969 share of 20 per cent of the national population. Another disadvantaged Province was Nyanza, with 15 per cent of Government school places and 19 per cent of the population. But the most disadvantaged Province in the country was North Eastern, with 2 per cent of the national population and less than 1 per cent of the places in Government schools. In these cases the shortfall has not been compensated for by a dramatic rise in unaided places. In fact the opposite trend is apparent, as it is the provinces with the most favourable proportion of aided places—Central, Western and Eastern—which have had the biggest increase in unaided places.

These three provinces had a headstart in western education because of missionary activities in the early days of colonisation. Since Independence they have been very active and sometimes very successful in lobbying for Central Government resources. On the other hand, this has not been the case for North Eastern and Coast Province and some of the districts of Rift Valley Province. The explanation for Central Province's consistently large share of educational institutions is partly historical and partly due to a combination of political and economic features. The proximity of the Province to enclaves of white settlement and the urban centre of Nairobi, the early missionary activities, and a strong tradition of self-help in education are some of the historical forces which account for the pre-eminence of Central Province in primary and secondary education. The agricultural development of the area and the political dominance it has maintained since Independence have helped to consolidate this lead.

Two particularly important points are displayed by the Tables. Firstly, although there has been a huge general increase in the number of secondary-school places, the pattern of distribution has not markedly altered in the first decade of Independence. Secondly, the development of unaided secondary schools in this period has added to the regional inequalities which were observed in the provision of Government school places. The areas which have the largest share of Government-aided schools also have the largest share of unaided self-help places. The establishment of self-help Institutes of Technology is following the same pattern of regional disparity; Central Province is again in the lead, with four established institutes, three of which are operating. Eastern, Rift Valley, Western and Nyanza each have three and Coast Province has one such institute planned.[1]

The effect on rural communities of the methods of financing these self-help schools has important equity implications. When a *Harambee* school is to be established, the local communities are required to contribute in cash and kind. In the past, a great deal of enthusiasm has been forthcoming from the people in support of educational projects. But although people have been generous in their contributions there have been instances and places where the local administration has used some coercion to elicit contributions from the public. In some cases rural co-operatives have been required to pay a levy which goes towards self-help projects. There have also been strong social pressures to make contributions of this kind. What is of importance to our discussion here is the effect of these contributions on income distribution in the rural areas. In many instances these contributions have become a form of rural taxation which may be regressive in that benefits from these institutions are not equally accessible to all the rural people.[1]

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[1] See Martin Godfrey and Cyrus Mutiso, 'The political economy of self-help: Kenya's Harambee Institutes of Technology', op. cit.

Parents with children in *Harambee* secondary schools pay school fees which range between Shs 450 and Shs 1,200 per pupil, as compared with fees of Shs 200 to Shs 450 in Government-aided schools. Thus parents who have children in *Harambee* or private secondary schools are shouldering a much heavier burden than those who send their children to Government-aided secondary schools. Furthermore, not only are these parents paying more but their children are getting inferior quality education. To meet the financial pressure of fees, parents in the rural areas are under strong pressure to sell land or cattle or to divert funds from farm improvements to education. In other words, *Harambee* schools have diverted funds which would have been used for higher levels of present consumption or productive investment in agriculture to investment in an education, the value of which to the individual and society is in doubt. The rising rate of unemployment among secondary-school leavers makes any investment in the type and quality of education provided in *Harambee* secondary schools an unwise and unprofitable venture. Unfortunately, the rising rate of unemployment among the educated tends to raise qualification requirements for jobs and consequently to lead to a rising obsession with academic qualifications. However, as at the primary level, structural differentiation among secondary schools is reflected in different achievement levels. This is shown in Table 9, which compares the results of students of aided and unaided secondary schools in the East African Certificate of Education examination which is taken at the end of Form IV.

Table 9 shows that in 1969, while 37 per cent of the pupils in Government-aided schools obtained Division I and II certificates, only 11 per cent from unaided did as well and at the end of the scale 32 per cent in unaided schools failed the examination altogether, as compared with 9 per cent at the aided schools. This pattern persists in the 1970 results.

The importance of examination results is that they have a vital influence on an individual's opportunity for further education, training or employment. The students who perform most successfully in EACE are usually recruited for

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[1] For an informed analysis of the meaning and practice of *Harambee*, see Philip M. Mbithi, 'Harambee self-help: the Kenyan approach', *The African review*, Vol. II, No. 1, June 1972.

TABLE 9. The performance of aided and unaided secondary-school students on the East African Certificate of Education examination, 1969 and 1970

| Category of E.A.C.E. results | 1969 |  | 1970 |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Aided | Unaided | Aided | Unaided |
|  | % | % | % | % |
| Divisions I & II | 37.0 | 11.1 | 32.6 | 8.9 |
| Division III | 26.3 | 17.7 | 30.9 | 20.7 |
| E.A.C.E. | 27.2 | 39.6 | 24.7 | 33.6 |
| Fail | 9.4 | 31.6 | 11.8 | 36.8 |
| Total | 99.9 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
|  | (12 659) | (4 314) | (14 449) | (4 538) |

SOURCE Kenya, Ministry of Education, *Annual report*, 1969 and 1970.

higher education and the next ablest are recruited for training in the public and private sectors. The remaining school-leavers compete for the available employment opportunities. In addition to the inferior quality of most *Harambee* school education, a leaver from such a school faces further discrimination in the labour market even if his examination results compare favourably with those of students from Government-maintained schools. The probability of being unemployed is higher for *Harambee*-leavers, even when they have the same examination scores, and the likelihood of their remaining unemployed for a long time is still higher. If we divide school-leavers according to whether they attended national schools, provincial catchment schools or *Harambee* schools, we find that unemployment rates are very different even when examination performance is kept constant. For example, in 1968, of the 175 School Certificate holders who remained unemployed at the end of their first year after leaving school, the vast majority were *Harambee* school-leavers.[1]

## E. The policy response to disparities

The official response to inequality in Kenya has been a policy emphasising economic growth and expanded opportunity. At the time of Independence the most visible disparities were racial in origin and the policy emphasis was summarised thus:

> When Africans gained control of the political apparatus of the country at Independence the overriding priority became that of reorganizing an economy and a society which had structured rewards according to race. The restructuring

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[1] Kabiru Kinyanjui, 'Education, training and employment', in Court and Ghai, *Education, society and development*, op. cit.

> involved the Africanization of both the public and private sectors and the elimination of poverty and unemployment through the achievement of a rapid rate of economic growth.[1]

The corresponding motive of educational policy in the period of early Independence was succinctly stated by Sessional Paper Number 10, *African socialism:*

> At Kenya's stage of development, education is much more an economic than a social service. It is our principal means for relieving the shortage of domestic skilled manpower and equalizing opportunities for all citizens.[2]

Ten years later the 1974-78 Development Plan shows that while race has been replaced on the policy agenda by a recognition of other dimensions of disparity and the need to deal with them directly, the main engine of response remains economic growth rather than distribution:

> In order to achieve the social objectives of the Plan, measures will be undertaken to minimize income differentials. Firstly, the better off members of the community will contribute proportionately more to Government revenue through taxation. All will continue to have the opportunity to contribute also through voluntary Harambee projects. Secondly, the focus of the last plan on development of rural areas, where incomes are lower than the national average, will continue. Thirdly, government's provision of education and health services will be accelerated. Finally, the present plan provides opportunities for everyone to participate actively in the economy and in so doing improve his standard of living. Such improvements are bound to be achieved more quickly by some than by others, however. Equal income for everyone is therefore not the object of this plan. Differences in skill, effort, and initiative need to be recognized and rewarded.[3]

Because the prevailing social philosophy permits and encourages sizeable differences in individual and, by implication, regional rewards the corresponding educational system must be part of a process which justifies and provides a basis for those differential rewards. Thus the main features of educational policy have been the expansion of educational opportunity coupled with some compensatory provision for severely under-privileged areas. Thirdly, there have been major efforts to streamline the procedures of opportunity allocation and to relate it to academic attainment.

The outstanding achievement of educational policy since Independence has, as we have shown, been the expansion of formal and especially secondary education. At first this was viewed as a way of meeting urgent manpower needs,

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1. Republic of Kenya, *Development plan 1966-1970,* Nairobi, Government Printer, p. 7.
2. Republic of Kenya, Sessional Paper No. 10, *African socialism,* Nairobi, Government Printer, 1965.
3. Republic of Kenya, *Development plan 1974-1978,* Part I, Nairobi, Government Printer, 1974, p. 3.

but the sheer magnitude and uncontrolled character of the self-help drive has made it increasingly difficult to justify in terms of pre-ordained manpower categories. At this point the policy justification began to emphasise less the manpower contribution and more the extent to which it reflects a philosophy of expanded opportunity. Educational expansion is encouraged and accommodated. Hardly a day goes by without a newspaper report of a senior public official exhorting parents to send their children to school as a way of enabling them to take advantage of the opportunities of Independence. As a result there has been a substantial expansion of educational opportunity. Although in the previous section we emphasised the differential opportunities for students from *Harambee* and other types of school, the fact remains that these schools do provide access to the national job structure for a few, as well as an opportunity for others to reinforce and expand acquired levels of literacy and numeracy.

As part of the objective of expanded opportunity there has been an attempt to direct resources to areas neglected in the colonial pattern of development. As documented earlier, the number of aided secondary schools has increased in the past ten years in provinces which previously had low enrolment. The allocation of Form I places on a regional basis is a similar measure of regional equalisation, as is the special provision of boarding facilities for children in pastoral areas. The most important measure of equalisation has been the abolition of fees for the first four years of primary school, although complaints are frequently heard that much of the benefit has been lost in face of a corresponding increase in other types of financial obligations for uniforms, school buildings and so forth. Furthermore, the relationship between academic attainment and job access has been tightened and as opportunities become more scarce, the minimum educational requirement for each level of job has been raised. This emphasis on credentials has involved attempts to regulate and formalise informal-sector training arrangements through an Apprenticeship Act.[1]

Because of their importance to educational and social policy, Kenya has devoted major efforts to improving the quality of content and efficiency of administration of its examinations. Two distinct purposes related to equity are involved in this work. The emphasis on administrative efficiency has a strong socio-political rationale. In a pluralistic society such as Kenya, which is characterised by disparities, the administration of a standard examination provides visible evidence against the chance of official discrimination. Ultimate disparities are more acceptable if it is believed that everyone has an equal chance to enter and advance in the school system, to be judged by objective criteria within it and an equal chance to enter employment outside it. As a result, immense care is taken to ensure the impartiality of the examination process. For example, the CPE is printed in Britain and is machine-marked, and highly elaborate security arrangements accompany its preparation and distribution.

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[1] See Kenneth King, *The African artisan*, London, Heinemann, 1977, p. 87.

The recurring nightmare of Ministry of Education officials each year is that leakage or cheating might impair the aura of justice which is intended to pervade the content and administration of the examination.

As well as affording a semblance of equal opportunity, examinations also offer a means for directly influencing opportunity in favour of under-privileged groups or areas. Kenya has given serious attention to improving the content of its examinations, especially the CPE, in terms of its efficiency, its reliability, its appropriateness and its equity.[1]

## F. Issues in the search for greater equality

The problems facing Kenya's attempt to expand educational opportunity stem from the fact that pre-existing inequalities in background and access benefiting groups and areas have developed a momentum of their own which is difficult to modify in the context of a highly selective education system monopolising access to the highest rewards in society.

We have suggested that expansion of formal educational facilities has been a means of reducing past disparities and of preserving the impression of widening opportunity. Clearly, however, there is a limit to the extent to which Kenya can absorb the cost of continuing at the present rate of expansion. The Ministry of Education absorbs 33 per cent of the total national budget, and a continuation of the present rate of increase in educational expenditures will harmfully pre-empt other forms of productive investment. The dilemma for Government policy is that the inevitable curtailment of expenditure without a reallocation will preserve the advantage of areas which already have educational facilities and be perceived as thwarting the aspirations of those in areas that don't, and may tend to undermine the credibility of the strategy of equal opportunity on which educational policy is based.

The history of Kenya's attempts to redistribute opportunities suggests that once the financial ceiling is reached redistribution for regional equity will be a painful process. Improvements in the regional distribution of Government-aided schools have been overwhelmed by the operation of self-help provision. The wealthy and relatively influential areas have been able to maintain their advantage by the establishment of self-help *Harambee* schools. The potentially perverse impact of the *Harambee* movement on policies aimed at regional equalisation was emphasised by the Ominde Commission in 1964:

> Central Government planning and uncontrolled community enterprise cannot exist side by side. Unless the Government are in a position to impose controls on the establishment of self-help schools planned progress towards equal opportunity will be frustrated by the unco-ordinated decisions of individual communities or groups.[2]

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1. See H.C.A. Somerset, 'Who goes to secondary school? Relevance, reliability and equity in secondary-school selection'.
2. Government of Kenya, *Kenya education commission report*, Part II, Nairobi, Government Printer, 1965, p. 13.

It is now a matter of history that while the Government did act in 1974 to curb the expansion of *Harambee* secondary schools by limiting the conditions of its willingness to provide assistance, it was too late to salvage a policy of centrally imposed parity. Since then much educational self-help has been concentrated on *Harambee* Institutes of Technology which, as Godfrey and Mutiso have shown, provide similar dangers of accentuating inequalities between regions.[1] The general phenomenon is one in which the wealthy and politically influential areas have been able to raise funds for self-help schools and exert political pressure to ensure Government take-over of these schools once they are established. The self-help movement as a result has been a primary arena for regional and ethnic competition, and has inhibited the planning process in general and progress towards reduced regional inequalities in particular. A study by Winans suggests that the pattern which has prevailed in Kenya for the past ten years may be changing, so that although in national terms education remains the biggest single outlet for self-help activity, certain areas seem to be reaching a saturation point and trends are already apparent which suggest that the most rapid expansion of educational self-help may in the future be in areas of previous deprivation, with consequent equity implications.[2] It is too early to assess the validity of this prediction.

In the meantime, plans for compensatory provision of aided facilities have been undermined by individual initiative beyond self-help activity. Thus in the Rift Valley, for example, because special facilities have not been accompanied by ethnic quotas they have served to intensify regional imbalance by providing additional opportunities for outsiders from areas which are already well-endowed with educational facilities.[3] The ILO Report proposal of a scheme of school quotas as a means of alleviating regional and ethnic inequalities of access has been explicitly rejected by the Kenya Government in its official response to the Report.[4]

*1. The difficulty of redistributing equality.* While the wider distribution of access opportunities is a necessary first step in reducing regional imbalance, it cannot compensate for a history of relative deprivation. To compensate, it needs to be accompanied by a sustained effort to improve the quality of schools measured especially by the quality of teachers. Kenya, unlike Tanzania, has not been able or willing to allocate its best teachers to the most needy areas. In consequence,

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1. Martin Godfrey and Cyrus Mutiso, 'The political economy of self-help: the Kenya Harambee Institutes of Technology'.
2. Edgar V. Winans and Angelique Haugerud, 'Rural self-help in Kenya: the Harambee movement', *Human organization*, Vol. 36, No. 4, 1977.
3. See Alexander Gorham, 'Developments in primary education in Kajiado District 1963-1975', Working Paper No. 297, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, 1977, and also Kenneth King, 'Primary schools in Kenya: some critical constraints on their effectiveness', in Court and Ghai, *Education, society and development*.
4. The proposal was one of the recommendations of the ILO Report, *Employment, incomes and equality*, Geneva, International Labour Office, 1972. The response is contained in Republic of Kenya, Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1973, *Employment*, Nairobi, Government Printer, 1973.

the regional distribution of professionally qualified teachers has mirrored the general pattern of disparity. The dilemma of quality is illustrated by the nucleus of high-quality schools which catered for Europeans in the colonial period and have been left after Independence. Kenya has opted to preserve the quality rather than alter the structure of the schools, and to replace race by merit mediated by income as the determinants of access. The effect of previous inherited standards is inevitably to give a preferential advantage to those groups who were best able to meet the required standards and pay the fees.

*2. The limitations of examination reform.* Given the likely continuation of disparities of educational provision by region, the credibility of a policy of equal opportunity depends upon the impartial use of examination criteria for allocating opportunities. Although there are almost certainly instances of undetected cheating and occasional cases of the blatant overriding of examination performance, by and large there can be little doubt about the primacy of examination performance in determining access to further educational opportunity. The extent to which examination performance determines selection from school to employment is harder to assess, although we have some data to show that the correlation is high for the first job.[1] At the same time there is evidence to show that where examination performance for two individuals is similar less universalistic criteria become second-order determinants of advancement, thereby accounting for the apparent paradox in which acceptance of examinations and widespread comment about nepotism exist side-by-side.[2] To the extent that examination-measured merit is being eroded by ascriptive criteria the credibility of educational policy as a tool for equalisation is being undermined. It is of course extremely difficult to identify the reasons for individual advancement in all cases, but even if the examination system is being administered in a fair and standard manner this says nothing about the impact on equity of its content.

After some early euphoria about the potential of examinations as devices for improving equity, the limitations and complexity of this approach have become apparent. For example, one of the early assumptions was that the main source of inequality in the critical CPE examination was that its content gave disproportionate advantage to urban students. The corresponding expectation was that by the insertion of a context familiar to rural students, along with the replacement of questions measuring memorisation by those seeking to elicit reasoning, observation and understanding, this would have the effect of reducing the impact of socio-economic status which was felt to be at the heart of performance inequalities. Carefully constructed items of this type now form the main content of the CPE. It is dangerous to try and summarise conclusions of sophisticated and incomplete research into the impact of this examination over time in Kenya, but some tentative conclusions of the work are relevant to our theme.[1] It is now clear that while, as mentioned earlier, certain types of question can serve to reduce differential advantage, the more general effect is to increase the gap in collective performance between different parts of the country and hence to compound established advantage and regional disparity. The magnitude of difference is in some instances very sizeable. For example, there are some districts where the aggregate level of performance of every school in the district equals or exceeds the best school in another district. It is equally clear that the differential impact of the examination has less to do with the rural or urban location of schools than with their internal quality. Pupils at high-quality rural schools reach much higher levels of performance than those at low-quality urban schools, and come close to the attainment of students at high-quality urban schools without making allowance for the reinforcing impact of SES factors on the performance of pupils at the latter type of school.[2] Examinations requiring higher-order intellectual skills may within limits be able to partially offset the advantages of socio-economic background, but they accentuate the advantage of school quality. There is both dilemma and opportunity in these data. The dilemma is the conclusion that the educationally beneficial type of examination—i.e., that demanding higher-order types of intellectual skill—provides little scope for serving regional equity by counteracting school-quality factors. The opportunity is implicit in the conclusion that school quality makes a difference to individual performance and the scope that this provides for diffusing opportunity.

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[1] Kabiru Kinyanjui, 'Education, training and employment'.

[2] Kenneth Prewitt, 'Education and social equality in Kenya', in Court and Ghai, *Education, society and development*.

## G. The problem of regionalism

The first major review of the Kenya education system treated national integration as a major problem for the country and task for the education system. It argued that 'No problem is more important to the future welfare of Kenya than the cultivation of a sense of belonging to a nation and desire to serve the nation',[3] and the list of nine objectives for Kenyan education is dominated by this theme: 'Education must promote social equality and remove divisions of race, tribe and religion'.[4] Since then, Development Plans and policy statements have reiterated this purpose. However, despite this apparent concern Kenya, unlike Tanzania, has made little attempt to deliberately organise school-composition experience or curriculum for promoting a sense of nationalism or self-sacrifice in favour of regional equalisation. Instead, the appeal has been to the ideals of opportunity and merit as values cutting across those of regional affiliation. As educational opportunities are not equally available and some selection methods are tending to reinforce initial patterns of regional advantage, a critical question is how effective policy is in superimposing the meritocratic ideal across regional variation. We do not have current data on this question, but findings from an earlier study illustrate the problem.

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[1] The work referred to here is that of H.C.A. Somerset, which is reported in 'Who goes to secondary school? Relevance, reliability and equity in secondary school selection', as well as in several unpublished papers.

[2] H.C.A. Somerset, 'Aptitude tests, socio-economic background and secondary school selection: the possibilities and limits of change'.

[3] Government of Kenya, *Kenya Education Commission report*, p. 28.

[4] Government of Kenya, *Kenya Education Commission report*, p. 25.

The study aimed to assess the extent of the homogenizing impact of the national opportunity structure on student perceptions, and in order to do this examined the extent to which a wide range of socio-political attitudes among Kenya secondary students were subject to regional variation.[1] The study identified two distinct types of socio-political perception among students: expectations about likely future role in the national opportunity system, which do not vary by region, and a set of more directly political perceptions of Government and the allocation of resources, which do. An example of the pattern of variation is presented in Table 10.

TABLE 10. Political attitudes expressed by Kenyan secondary-school students: rank ordered by province

| Province | N | Money should not go from developed to undeveloped regions | Sees government doing many things for family | Not good when people criticize government |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | % | % | % |
| Central | (303) | 63 | 31 | 34 |
| Rift Valley | (150) | 51 | 25 | 33 |
| Eastern | (212) | 44 | 16 | 26 |
| Coast | (112) | 43 | 20 | 29 |
| Western | (128) | 30 | 15 | 14 |
| Nyanza | (224) | 43 | 14 | 14 |

SOURCE Court and Prewitt. 'Education and Citizenship Project', 1973.

The explanation for this pattern of variation suggests that regional differences of political outlook derive from the actual distribution of resources. In this case the Province most benefited by the discrepancy between resources on the one hand and need on the other is the Province most appreciative of Government and least tolerant of criticism. Understandably, it is also the Province preferring that development resources be retained by the more developed regions. In contrast, the provinces which are constantly sceptical of Government policy are clearly penalised by the existing distribution of social services, including education.

If this interpretation has any merit its importance lies in the conclusion that an opportunity ethos is not a substitute for equality of distribution and without it produces regionalism. Although the data leading to this conclusion refer to the mid-sixties, impressionistic evidence suggests that they may still have currency. If so, the interesting question is the likelihood that awareness of regional inequality will develop into a radical consciousness. That this has not happened probably relates to the optimistic faith in the fulfilment of opportunity expectations which was possible in the first decade of Independence. However, as access to individual opportunity is curtailed, aggressive interest in regional resource allocation and equality of opportunity seems likely to increase.

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[1] David Court and Kenneth Prewitt. 'Nation versus Region in Kenya: a note on political learning'. *British journal of political science*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1973.

# III. Tanzania: the politics of educational redistribution

## A. The historical problem and official response in Tanzania

In Tanzania, as in Kenya, educational provision grew in a very uneven way, with inequalities of regional and ethnic access arising from different patterns of localised demand generated during the colonial period. Because the circumstances of economic development and mission settlement made some areas more interested in western education and more able to provide it than others, substantial differences in ethnic access appeared. People who benefited most notably were those in the Kilimanjaro, Pare and Bukoba areas, where they were able to take advantage among other things of mission competition.[1] The broad pattern of disparity in primary enrolment in 1948 can be seen in Table 11.

TABLE 11. Enrolment in standards I-VI by province, 1948

| Province | Rank by population according to the 1948 census | Enrolment | School-age population | Percentage of school-age population enrolled |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tanga | 8 | 25 711 | 68 286 | 38 |
| Southern | 4 | 24 068 | 110 585 | 22 |
| Eastern | 3 | 21 699 | 112 450 | 19 |
| Northern | 7 | 19 066 | 72 365 | 26 |
| Lake | 1 | 18 818 | 228 252 | 8 |
| Southern Highlands | 5 | 13 534 | 105 610 | 13 |
| Western | 2 | 10 668 | 117 100 | 9 |
| Central | 6 | 8 077 | 101 917 | 8 |

SOURCE Morrison, *Education and politics in Africa*, p. 54.

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[1] See for example Zabdiel E. Lawuo, 'Education and change in a rural community: a study of colonial education and local response among the Chagga of Kilimanjaro between 1920 and 1945', University of Dar es Salaam, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1977.

TABLE 12. Enrolment in Government primary schools 1965 and 1975 as a percentage of the 1969 estimated school-age population

| Region | Estimated school-age population 1969[1] | Enrolment 1965 | Enrolment 1975 | Percentage enrolled 1965 | Percentage enrolled 1975 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Kilimanjaro | 147 203 | 78 445 | 125 749 | 60 | 85 |
| 2. West Lake | 126 257 | 52 941 | 96 845 | 49 | 77 |
| 3. Coast | 126 887 | 42.847 | 49 298 | 42 | 39 |
| 4. Dar es Salaam | | | 48 495 | | |
| 5. Ruvuma | 79 798 | 28 119 | 70 703 | 45 | 88 |
| 6. Mara | 111 452 | 35 748 | 81 332 | 35 | 73 |
| 7. Singida | 86 248 | 30 353 | 68 408 | 43 | 79 |
| 8. Tanga | 151 685 | 56 360 | 105 911 | 46 | 70 |
| 9. Morogoro | 130 367 | 43 718 | 78 299 | 39 | 60 |
| 10. Tabora | 103 519 | 28 118 | 66 133 | 34 | 64 |
| 11. Mtwara | 191 069 | 55 263 | 90 784 | 36 | 47 |
| 12. Dodoma | 146 657 | 36 164 | 94 570 | 31 | 64 |
| 13. Arusha | 123 999 | 31 040 | 69 226 | 31 | 56 |
| 14. Mwanza | 212 269 | 57 529 | 95 564 | 34 | 45 |
| 15. Mbeya | 210 279 | 48 321 | 88 089 | 27 | 42 |
| 16. Kigoma | 93 806 | 22 342 | 64 920 | 29 | 69 |
| 17. Iringa | 159 335 | 31 755 | 76 674 | 24 | 48 |
| 18. Shinyanga | 187 356 | 31 497 | 72 986 | 23 | 39 |
| 19. Lindi | | | 53 608 | | |
| 20. Rukwa | | | 35 359 | | |
| Total | 2 388 168 | 710 200 | 1 532 953 | 36 | 59 |

1. The seven-year age-group 5 to 11 inclusive in 1967 closely approximates the age-group 7 to 13 in 1969. The 1965 percentages are based on an eight-year age-group as the primary school programme then was of eight rather than seven years' duration.

SOURCE Ministry of National Education, Educational Statistics 1961-1975.

The colonial government attempted to equalise opportunities by setting enrolment targets for all provinces and trying to fulfil them by means of special assistance to the under-represented provinces but, as Morrison has shown, the pattern of relative disparity was not greatly altered in the first five years of the plan and because of this the colonial government ceased publishing provincial figures.[1] Charting the precise pattern of disparities across time into the Independence period is complicated by the fact that there was an expansion of the number of principal administrative units from eight to seventeen (later twenty) and a change of name from Province to Region but, as Table 12 reveals, the broad pattern of disparity in access to education remained into the 1970s. Furthermore, as shown in Table 13, it was reflected and reinforced in the pattern of post-primary opportunities, which had quickly become the object of intense demand.

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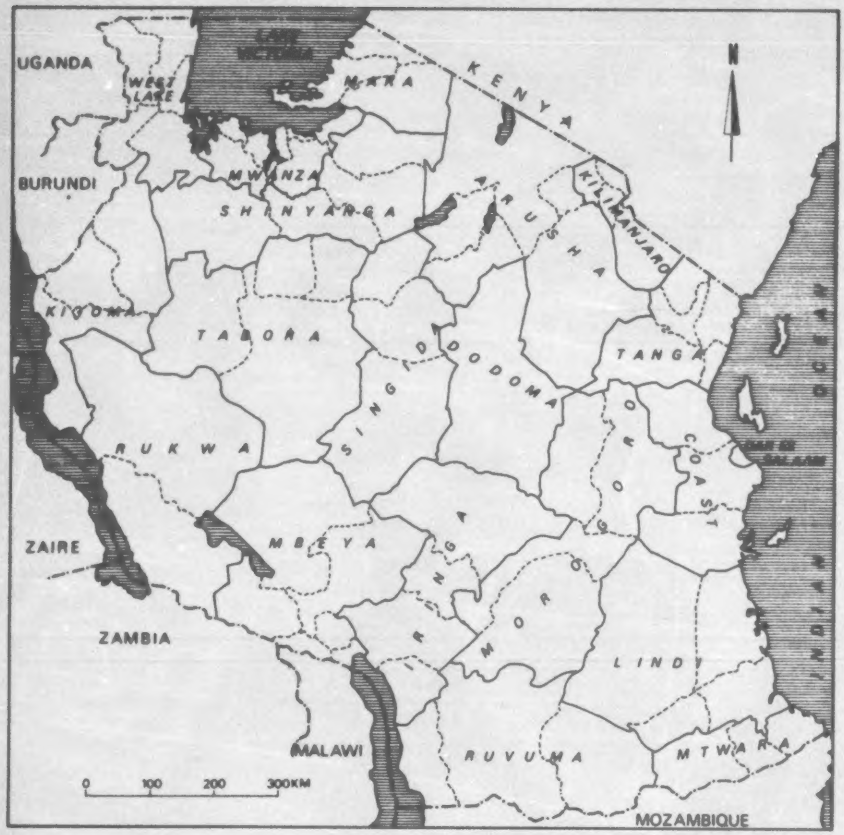
[1] David R. Morrison, *Education and politics in Africa: the Tanzanian case*, Nairobi, Heinemann, 1976, p. 55.


UGANDA
LAKE VICTORIA
WEST LAKE
MARA
KENYA
N
BURUNDI
MWANZA
SHINYANGA
ARUSHA
KILIMANJARO
KIGOMA
TABORA
TANGA
DODOMA
SINGIDA
RUKWA
MOROGORO
COAST
DAR ES SALAAM
INDIAN OCEAN
ZAIRE
MBEYA
IRINGA
ZAMBIA
LINDI
MALAWI
RUVUMA
MTWARA
0
100
200
300KM
MOZAMBIQUE

**Map 2.** *Administrative regions and districts of Tanzania.*

Historically, the regional distribution of secondary schools was as uneven as that of primary schools and, with the exception of three territorial schools, access was relatively easier for those living near to the institutions than for their more scattered compatriots.[1] Since Independence all Government secondary schools have been treated as national schools, which means that, irrespective of where the school is located, students can be allocated to it from anywhere in the country. This in itself is a measure of national integration, and contrasts with the more variegated pattern of high-cost, national-catchment and provincial-secondary schools which exists in Kenya. Furthermore, access to a secondary place is determined not by the number of secondary schools in one's region but by a quota system, under which the total number of Government

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[1] Morrison, *Education and politics in Africa*, p. 176.

TABLE 13. Proportion of selected pupils to secondary schools 1975

| Region | Std VII enrolments Sept. 1975 | Selected to Form I in 1976 | Percentage selected to enrolment 1975 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Arusha | 6 261 | 387 | 6.18 |
| Coast | 4 022 | 263 | 6.54 |
| Dar es Salaam | 5 709 | 956 | 16.75 |
| Dodoma | 7 222 | 379 | 5.25 |
| Iringa | 7 093 | 403 | 5.68 |
| Kigoma | 4 009 | 250 | 6.24 |
| Kilimanjaro | 14 345 | 785 | 5.47 |
| Lindi | 4 023 | 282 | 7.01 |
| Mara | 7 056 | 393 | 5.57 |
| Mbeya | 8 263 | 467 | 5.65 |
| Morogoro | 8 364 | 457 | 5.46 |
| Mtwara | 5 754 | 317 | 6.00 |
| Mwanza | 10 657 | 644 | 6.04 |
| Rukwa | 2 473 | 215 | 8.69 |
| Ruvuma | 6 520 | 352 | 5.40 |
| Shinyanga | 6 442 | 360 | 5.59 |
| Singida | 5 869 | 334 | 5.69 |
| Tabora | 5 532 | 294 | 5.31 |
| Tanga | 10 161 | 679 | 6.68 |
| W. Lake | 9 222 | 500 | 5.42 |
| Total | 138 997 | 8 717 | 6.27 |

SOURCE *Annual manpower report to the President*, 1975.

secondary-school places available in the country is apportioned regionally in relation to the number of primary-school leavers in each region. Thus by 1976, as Table 13 shows, access to Form I places in Government secondary schools as a proportion of primary-school leavers was very close in all regions to the national average of 6.27 per cent, with the exception of Dar es Salaam region where the figure rose to 17 per cent.

Two related factors explain the higher quota for Dar es Salaam region. In the first place, it appears to be a concession to the concentration in the capital and its vicinity of civil servants from other regions, whose children increase the competitiveness of secondary-school entry. The rigid application of the national quota in Dar es Salaam would almost certainly have the effect of penalizing the children of these temporary residents by reducing the probability of gaining entry which they would have had if they were living at home. A second closely related factor is that the availability of day-school places at the secondary level makes relatively easy an expansion of the quota which because of accommodation problems cannot be open to those from other regions.

The achievement of relative regional parity in relation to Standard seven

**TABLE 14.** Number of government school form I places per hundred thousand of 1967 population allocated to each region, 1966 and 1976

| Region | Population (000s) | Percentage of national population | 1966 | | | 1976 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Places allocated | No. places per 100 000 population | Percentage of total places allocated | Places allocated | No. places per 100 000 population | Percentage of total places allocated |
| Coast | 784.3 | 6.5 | 526 | 67 | 12.8 | 263 | 33 | 14.0 |
| Dar es Salaam | | | | | | 956 | | |
| Kilimanjaro | 652.7 | 5.5 | 536 | 82 | 13.0 | 785 | 120 | 9.0 |
| Tanga | 771.1 | 6.5 | 341 | 44 | 8.3 | 679 | 88 | 7.8 |
| West Lake | 658.7 | 5.5 | 247 | 38 | 6.0 | 500 | 76 | 5.7 |
| Ruvuma | 393.0 | 3.3 | 154 | 39 | 3.7 | 352 | 90 | 4.0 |
| Singida | 457.9 | 3.8 | 143 | 31 | 3.5 | 334 | 73 | 3.8 |
| Mara | 544.1 | 4.6 | 150 | 28 | 3.6 | 393 | 72 | 4.5 |
| Morogoro | 685.1 | 5.7 | 218 | 32 | 5.3 | 457 | 67 | 5.2 |
| Tabora | 562.9 | 4.7 | 136 | 24 | 3.3 | 294 | 52 | 3.4 |
| Arusha | 610.5 | 5.1 | 177 | 29 | 4.3 | 387 | 63 | 4.4 |
| Mwanza | 1 055.9 | 8.8 | 427 | 40 | 10.4 | 644 | 61 | 7.4 |
| Dodoma | 709.4 | 5.9 | 184 | 26 | 4.8 | 379 | 53 | 4.4 |
| Mbeya | 969.1 | 8.1 | 235 | 24 | 5.7 | 467 | 48 | 5.4 |
| Kigoma | 473.4 | 4.0 | 84 | 18 | 2.0 | 250 | 53 | 2.9 |
| Iringa | 689.9 | 5.8 | 184 | 27 | 4.5 | 403 | 58 | 4.6 |
| Mtwara | 1 041.1 | 8.7 | 240 | 23 | 5.8 | 317 | 30 | 3.6 |
| Shinyanga | 899.5 | 7.5 | 135 | 15 | 3.2 | 360 | 40 | 4.1 |
| Lindi | | | | | | 282 | | |
| Rukwa | | | | | | 215 | | |
| Tanzania | 11 958.6 | 100% | 4 117 | | | 8 717 | | |

SOURCE Republic of Tanzania, *Budget Speech of the Minister of National Education*, 1977.

TABLE 15. Vocational education opportunities by regions

| Regions in order of highest total access ratio | Population | Training opportunities, high and medium levels[1] | Access ratio by population | National position | Training opportunities, all levels[2] | Total access ratio by population |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Coast | 582 000 | 293 | 1 : 1 986 | 3 | 713 | 1 : 816 |
| Singida | 513 000 | 224 | 1 : 2 290 | 6 | 584 | 1 : 878 |
| Dar es Salaam | 517 000 | 295 | 1 : 1 753 | 1 | 576 | 1 : 898 |
| West Lake | 774 000 | 430 | 1 : 1 800 | 2 | 850 | 1 : 911 |
| Ruvuma | 491 000 | 156 | 1 : 1 986 | 4 | 516 | 1 : 952 |
| Dodoma | 853 000 | 328 | 1 : 2 600 | 8 | 858 | 1 : 994 |
| Kilimanjaro | 850 000 | 400 | 1 : 2 125 | 5 | 810 | 1 : 1 049 |
| Tanga | 955 000 | 321 | 1 : 2 975 | 9 | 900 | 1 : 1 061 |
| Rukwa | 360 000 | 86 | 1 : 4 186 | 11 | 326 | 1 : 1 104 |
| Mbeya | 940 500 | 222 | 1 : 4 236 | 12 | 822 | 1 : 1 144 |
| Morogoro | 804 000 | 243 | 1 : 4 720 | 13 | 693 | 1 : 1 160 |
| Iringa | 886 000 | 356 | 1 : 2 488 | 7 | 746 | 1 : 1 188 |
| Lindi | 483 000 | 0 | 1 : 00 | 19 | 360 | 1 : 1 342 |
| Mara | 719 000 | 174 | 1 : 4 132 | 10 | 534 | 1 : 1 346 |
| Kigoma | 534 000 | 0 | 1 : 00 | 20 | 360 | 1 : 1 483 |
| Mtwara | 878 000 | 186 | 1 : 4 720 | 14 | 546 | 1 : 1 608 |
| Arusha | 801 000 | 60 | 1 :13 350 | 16 | 480 | 1 : 1 669 |
| Mwanza | 1 308 000 | 210 | 1 : 6 228 | 15 | 780 | 1 : 1 677 |
| Tabora | 592 000 | 0 | 1 : 00 | 18 | 335 | 1 : 1 767 |
| Shinyanga | 1 106 000 | 22 | 1 :50 272 | 17 | 472 | 1 : 2 343 |
| Total | 14 946 500 | 4 006 | 1 : 3 731 |  | 12 261 | 1 : 1 219 |

1. High and medium levels: Church, Tapa schools.
2. All levels: including SIDO training opportunities and post-primary craft centres.

SOURCE Christian Council of Tanzania, *Rural vocational education in Tanzania*, Dar es Salaam, 1977.

output, summarized in Table 13, is impressive, but the magnitude of the historical problem which has to be overcome is illustrated in Table 14, which treats places per hundred thousand of the population, rather than primary output, as the reference point. Because historically the regional quota has been determined by Standard-seven output, regions with an established tradition of primary education have gained a comparative advantage in access to secondary schools which, as the Table shows, they have been able to sustain across a ten-year time-span. However, once universal primary education becomes a reality, so too should regional equality of access to Government secondary schools, measured not only as a proportion of primary-school output but also in relation to the primary-school population.

It is interesting to note from Table 15 that historical disparities in access to opportunities in vocational education have also persisted to the present time. Highly developed regions have a concentration of training facilities, and especially of those at the high and medium levels. Thus, as can be seen from the

Table, the opportunity-access ratio for the high and medium levels is 28 times as great for Dar es Salaam as it is for Shinyanga region.

In view of the general historical picture presented, it comes as little surprise to find that the disparity pattern is manifested in the regional composition of the University of Dar es Salaam. Indeed the 'over-representation' of some regions suggests that individuals from those areas have been able to gain access to secondary schools in numbers exceeding the official quota from their region by means of attendance at day or (more likely) private schools. Some of them re-surface in Form V, which is not governed by a regional quota, and thereby swell the pool of those from their region who are seeking university entry, which in the period referred to by Table 16 was determined by academic performance.

What the university figures also make clear is the point that disparity is not simply a matter of enrolment but also of performance. Tanzania does not publish the kind of detailed analyses of individual examination performance which are available in Kenya. Yet historical and aggregate data can serve to illustrate the point. Morrison quotes a situation in 1966 where in one school in Kilimanjaro no student who entered Form I had less than 214 marks out of 300 on the national

TABLE 16. The regional origins of male students at the University of Dar es Salaam

| Region | Sampled students who grew up in region | Percentage of sampled students | Percentage of Tanzania's males aged 10-24 | Percentage of Tanzania's males with 5-14 years of school | Percentage of region which is christian |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Arusha | 14 | 5.9 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 19.5 |
| Coast | 5.5 | 2.3 | 6.3 | 12.2 | 9.8 |
| Dodoma | 4.5 | 1.9 | 5.8 | 3.8 | 22.6 |
| Iringa | 12 | 5.1 | 6.1 | 3.6 | 52.8 |
| Kigoma | 3 | 1.3 | 3.4 | 2.0 | 23.0 |
| Kilimanjaro | 45.5 | 20.0 | 5.5 | 10.0 | 64.2 |
| Mara | 17.5 | 7.4 | 4.8 | 5.2 | 43.8 |
| Mbeya | 18.5 | 7.8 | 8.7 | 6.3 | 42.0 |
| Morogoro | 4 | 1.7 | 5.7 | 5.5 | 44.5 |
| Mtwara | 10 | 4.2 | 8.1 | 5.2 | 15.7 |
| Mwanza | 15 | 6.3 | 9.0 | 8.2 | 22.6 |
| Ruvuma | 10.5 | 4.4 | 3.0 | 2.5 | 55.4 |
| Shinyanga | 9.5 | 4.0 | 7.3 | 4.0 | 10.1 |
| Singida | 11 | 4.6 | 3.6 | 4.1 | 18.4 |
| Tabora | 6 | 2.5 | 4.3 | 3.9 | 23.0 |
| Tanga | 11 | 4.6 | 5.9 | 7.9 | 24.5 |
| West Lake | 33.5 | 14.1 | 4.6 | 6.4 | 61.1 |
| Zanzibar | 4 | 1.7 | 2.3 | 4.3 | 2.9 |
| Total | 237 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

SOURCE Columns 1 and 2 are based on interviews with a random sample of 345 students on the main campus of the University in December 1974. The student figures have been calculated on the basis of weights in the sample.
Columns 3, 4 and 5 are derived from the published reports of the Tanzanian Census of 1967.

primary-school examination, in contrast to another school in a different region where pupils entered with marks as low as 130.[1] More recently the National Examination Council Analyses of Examination Results show how students from schools in regions with a long tradition of formal education consistently out-perform their fellows from elsewhere in the national Form IV examinations.[2]

In touching on these disparities, our aim here is mainly to illustrate the similarities of the problem to that which has been documented in some detail for Kenya. The special interest of Tanzania lies in the sustained emphasis which has been given to reducing these disparities through educational policy.

This concern was not evident in the early years of Independence. The Annual Report of the Ministry of Education stated quite baldly in 1966 that 'in view of the shortage of trained manpower, the main accent during the early years of independence had to be on expanding rather than on reconstructing the education system'.[3] In the Five Year Development Plan inaugurated in 1964 interest in regional parity was subordinated to an emphasis on the need for consolidation and the responsibility of local authorities for further development, which inevitably favoured the richer areas. The Government at this time was generally unwilling to restrain unplanned development springing from local initiative.

However, in 1967 *Education for self-reliance* laid down the principles which have governed educational policy towards individual and regional disparities ever since.[4] The document, although twelve years old, retains a freshness and familiarity that needs no reiteration here. Because policy integrates social and educational purposes it is difficult to separate out mechanisms which relate exclusively to the reduction of disparities. At a general level the whole policy is directed towards this end. However, for purposes of analysis it is useful to select several dimensions or themes which most clearly illustrate Tanzania's equalisation drive. Four such themes are among those re-affirmed in the Musoma Resolutions and reinforced in policy since.[5]

The first purpose is the removal of disparities in access to basic knowledge and literacy through the creation of a system geared to mass needs rather than to the production of a small highly educated élite. In practice, this has meant commitment to broadening the base of educational provision to include all adults and all children across all regions. A second closely related purpose is the aim of drawing schools into a relationship of close inter-dependence with their surrounding village or ward community, so that each looks upon the other as a resource and means of support. The intention is then that the curriculum is

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1. David R. Morrison, *Education and politics in Africa*, p. 179.
2. The National Examinations Council of Tanzania, *Examinations statistics and evaluation report for 1975*, Dar es Salaam, 1976.
3. The United Republic of Tanzania, *Annual report of the Ministry of Education 1966*, Dar es Salaam, Government Printer, 1967, p. 12.
4. Julius K. Nyerere, *Education for self-reliance*.
5. 'Directive on the implementation of education for self-reliance'.

geared to the provision of knowledge and skills which are related to village needs and schooling is viewed as an end in itself rather than a preparation for further academic training elsewhere. The rationale here is that if schools can relate to village needs and opportunities which are real rather than to the national job opportunity structure which for most is unattainable, this will counter regionalism based on a sense of competition for national opportunities. A third emphasis is upon socialisation for the purpose of countering tendencies towards regional or parochial sentiments or loyalties. This involves not simply political education to inculcate the common attributes of Tanzanian citizenship but includes the emphasis upon practical skills involved in the vocationalisation programme in secondary schools and the related emphasis on production which aims both at ensuring student work-experience and at helping the schools to meet some of their costs. A fourth aim has been that of altering the terms of access to limited opportunities for further education and training so as to downgrade examinations and include a broader range of criteria, including qualities of character and commitment to work.

## B. Towards an integrated system

The most significant aspect of Tanzania's response to regional disparities is the drive to eradicate illiteracy through adult education and universal primary education. The seriousness of commitment is indicated in the allocation of resources to this goal. The proportion of total Government expenditure allocated to adult education doubled between 1971 and 1974, and the budgetary allocation for the recurrent expenditure on primary education in 1978 is triple the amount set aside for secondary education.[1]

*1. Adult education.* Adult education in Tanzania is not simply a token activity or a low-status adjunct of the university enterprise. It is rather a massive attempt to eradicate adult illiteracy and thereby reduce regional disparities in access to basic knowledge. It is a matter of major national priority and practical attention. The President has been personally involved in the effort, and the present Minister of National Education has spent his working life in adult education. The mass adult-education programme is in its eighth year of operation. This year 4 million adults took the annual literacy test, a number far exceeding the entire student population of the primary schools. Over the past 8 years 97,729 teachers have been trained and 40 million copies of adult texts have been produced. All primary schools devote time on three afternoons a week—usually Monday, Wednesday and Friday—to teaching adults, using bright standard-seven pupils and teachers either at the school or, especially in Muslim areas, going out to meet adult learners at agreed locations. A sequence of mass campaigns have given purpose and direction to the process of illiteracy eradication. Initiated and orchestrated by the Institute of Adult Studies, they have involved the distribution of reading material, the training of discussion leaders and the use of a co-ordinated range of approaches based on radio study groups, correspondence units and the mass media. Each campaign has tried to communicate and build upon a particular practical theme. Among the best known have been: *Wakati wa Furaha*, stressing the importance of political involvement and planning; *Mtu ni Afya*, which dramatized some basic forms of preventive medicine; and *Chacula ni Uhai*, which emphasised the life-and-death importance of food production.[1]

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[1] Republic of Tanzania. Budget Speech by the Minister of National Education 1977. Dar es Salaam. Ministry of National Education. 1977.

Although illiteracy has not yet been completely removed, each year since the mass effort began has seen a further inroad into it, and the resolve remains firm to ensure both that remaining illiterates are encouraged to attend classes and that special provision is made to enable new literates to advance and apply their knowledge. A second phase of the mass effort aims to pay special attention to the establishment of an infrastructure and incentive through which literacy can be retained, intensified and applied. One element of this is the publication of a new book for advanced classes and a range of course texts covering specialised subjects. A second element of incentive and retention is the expansion of the national library service to rural areas. In 1977 157,000 new texts were contributed, along with equipment to a value of Shillings 3 million, and courses for librarians were held in every region. A further development has been the inauguration of a rural press which currently operates in one zone of the country with a monthly large-print newspaper *Elimu Haina Mwisho* and which in the coming year will be supplemented by five similar presses in different parts of the country. Thirdly, 47 Folk Development Colleges have been established and the ultimate intention is to have one in each District—for the purpose of providing a means whereby new literates can use their literacy for learning specialised skills in agriculture, construction, mechanics, accountancy and so forth in short-term and sandwich courses for which they are selected by their village.[2]

It is difficult to measure the precise impact of adult education beyond the limited information conveyed by figures on literacy tests. From the standpoint of regional equity there is no appreciable difference in reported literacy-test success rates across different regions of the country. One short-term difficulty has been the loss of teachers caused by the fact that voluntary adult-education tutors have been the main source of recruitment for additional primary teachers to meet the need associated with the drive to universal primary education. A more long-term challenge is presented by the critical task of building an infrastructure for encouraging and expanding the use of literacy. The library movement in some areas is still confined to towns, and where it has gone beyond it tends to be notable for its locked cupboards and the pristine quality of its volumes. Expansion into villages is hindered by an absolute shortage of books, maintenance problems with equipment, and a transport problem which in certain areas is so acute that the Ministry of Education this year had to complain about the extent to which mobile cinema vans had been appropriated for use as buses![1] Despite these deficiencies and some official concern about the problem of retention, it is clear that adult education has at the very least been able to nationalise access to written information and thereby to reduce one of the most fundamental inequalities in the country. It is still too early to quantify the extent to which, through heightened appreciation of the need for social change and receptivity to new ideas and techniques, this has been turned into regional development. However, by mobilising vast numbers of citizens in a system of national learning adult education has almost certainly expanded self-awareness, self-confidence and practical understanding. This has laid the foundation for the kind of meaningful and dispersed participation in village government which is envisaged in the five-committee structure through which most villages operate and for the increased productivity on which their improved well-being depends.

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[1] Several of those involved in the development of adult education have written about the origins, context and achievements of the various campaigns. See for example, Paul J. Mhaiki *et al.*, *The 1971 literacy campaign* and Paul J. Mhaiki and Budd L. Hall, *The integration of adult education in Tanzania*, Dar es Salaam Institute of Adult Education, 1972; Budd L. Hall, *Adult education and the development of socialism in Tanzania*, Nairobi, East African Literature Bureau, 1975; Emmanuel Mbakile, 'The national literacy campaign in Tanzania', mimeo, 1975; Yusuf Kassam, *The adult education revolution in Tanzania*, Nairobi, forthcoming.

[2] For the origins and rationale of these institutions see *Folk development colleges in Tanzania*, Dar es Salaam, Ministry of National Education, 1978.

*2. Universal primary education.* Tanzania's single boldest move against regional disparities was announced on November 2, 1974:

> It is hereby resolved that within a period of three years from now, that is by November 1977, arrangements must be completed which will enable every child of school age to obtain a place in primary school.[2]

Much attention to this aim has concentrated on the sheer magnitude of the task and the mechanics involved in doubling national primary-school enrolment within three years. More important perhaps are the egalitarian dimensions of this intention. Given the regional disparities of access to primary school existing in 1974, the UPE programme is a plan for vast equalisation designed to bring previously disadvantaged areas and groups closer to a position of parity with more developed areas. In conjunction with regional quotas on access to further education it contributes a major step towards equality of opportunity, at least in quantitative terms. It is important to note that reducing disparities through a system of mass child education was made possible by the achievement of the massive villagization programme, which occurred in Tanzania between 1974 and 1976 and brought together all scattered homesteads into more concentrated settlements.[3]

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[1] Repulic of Tanzania, 1977 Budget Speech by the Minister of National Education, p. 20.

[2] 'Directive on the implementation of education for self-reliance', p. 6.

[3] For a general description of the process of villagization see Goran Hyden, 'Ujamaa, villagization and rural development in Tanzania', *Overseas development institute review*, No. 1, 1975, and

The opening of the 1977/78 school year revealed that in numerical terms enrolment for the nation as a whole approximates 90 per cent of the eligible age-group and intended target.[1] This impressive achievement has been made possible by careful planning, especially in the identification of empty places, a crash programme of intensive in-service teacher training, which also utilized correspondence techniques learned in the literacy campaigns and included a built-in process of evaluation, the mobilization of local resources in classroom building, central resources in the provision of equipment, and substantial external assistance. Critics have been quick to point out some of the problems of establishing UPE: the problem of finding recurrent finance without pre-empting it from other types of education, the danger of rural-urban migration in light of all the evidence on the effect of education, the problem of surplus teachers once the initial pupil bulge begins to decline around 1985, the inevitable deterioration of quality attendant upon the mass influx, and so forth. From an administrative standpoint these are sizeable problems. Yet given the political commitment to proceed with UPE these are in the last resort subsidiary problems of implementation.

From the standpoint of equalising access to education, the more fundamental challenge for UPE is that of developing a structure of motivation and a form of termination which can ease or remove the transition from school to work.[2]

The majority of the additional students recruited under the UPE provision are from groups and areas—e.g. girls and pastoralists—which have missed out on education in the past. The critical issue is whether primary education can be organised in such a way that it convinces them of the relevance of staying for seven years. The main inducement to attendance in the past has been an optimism—however misplaced—that successful examination performance at the end of primary school would bring access to further education and hence to personally profitable opportunity. This form of motivation persists as the secondary-selection examination continues to have a pervasive influence on the activities and pre-occupations of almost all primary schools. Intensive special preparation involving week-end, holiday and evening classes remains a ubiquitous feature of standard-seven experience in Tanzania, as in Kenya, including the experimental 'MTUU' schools, where the notion of terminal preparation and integration with the village has been given most systematic attention. Furthermore, the experience of those regions which have approximated universal primary education for several years shows that the absence of new purpose through structural change in primary education, combined with reduced probabilities of access to places in Government secondary schools, has the effect of expanding demand for new forms of

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Adolphe Mascarenhas, 'After villagization, what?', mimeo, Bureau of Resource Assessment and Land Use Planning, University of Dar es Salaam, 1977.

[1] *Sunday News*, September 18, 1977.

[2] This and related issues are the subject of collaborative work with Kenneth King and are considered in some detail in a paper entitled, 'Education and work in the rural community', Paris, IIEP, 1978 (mimeo).

academic continuation as the purpose of primary education. At the same time, even prior to the current influx of students, many primary schools, especially those with a consistent record of inability to sponsor access to secondary school, have had problems of retaining students. The effect of UPE will of course be to drastically reduce the probability of an individual proceeding to secondary school.

In face of this historical legacy the Government and Party recognise that some new kind of purpose, other than the inducement of examination success, is critical if the new recruits and some of the old are to feel the relevance of staying in school and if the resurgence of long-standing disparities is to be prevented.[1] Such a purpose has to be based on a meaningful connection between school and community which provides recognizable opportunities for productive labour and a form of transition which is perceived as equitable. The introduction of legislation providing fines for recalcitrant parents who do not send their children to school suggests that the new purpose is still being sought,[2] but the more positive expectations of Government policy are also evident. In the first place, the consolidation of villagization itself is likely to make school attendance a normal rather than a unique pastime and hence to invoke the power of social pressure on behalf of school attendance. Secondly, the intended expansion of village production is expected to open up new opportunities in agriculture and small-scale industry, which is being stressed in the Third Development Plan. At the same time, a third factor of Government policy is the expectation that, as in the case of adults, political consciousness will provide a motivation towards self-development and an inspiration to seek local opportunities and to view them as a satisfying follow-up to primary school.

Whatever the success of primary schools in developing new kinds of relationship with their surrounding community which serve to give new meaning to education, the form of termination and transition to subsequent work is critical for the goal of regional parity. While adult education can accommodate everyone everywhere within its concept of lifelong learning, the end of primary education is sudden and differential treatment immediately. Of the 156,000 who finished primary school in 1976, 9,000 went to Government secondary schools, a further 5,000 to private secondary schools, 4,000 to vocational schools, and a handful to various forms of employment, leaving approximately 85 per cent in home agriculture. Clearly allocation to specialised roles has to occur at some point, and as mainland Tanzania cannot yet like Zanzibar afford three years of secondary schooling for all, this has to occur after primary school. In a later section we examine Tanzania's attempt to find a means of allocating limited opportunities for further training in a manner that preserves the logic of common treatment which underlies the drive towards mass adult and child education and is the conceptual basis of the official response to regional disparities. The desired sense of common treatment depends upon the effectiveness of political education and school-community integration in inspiring an altruism and community consciousness which can actually attract students to the prospect and opportunities of village work.

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[1] The Minister of National Education gave it particular attention in a long interview reported under the heading, 'Every child must go in', *Sunday News*, October, 23, 1977.

[2] For example, 13 parents in Utete District of Rufiji were fined for not sending their children to school. See 'Parents fined for ignoring education', *Daily News*, July 16, 1977.

## C. The merger of school and community

The achievement of villagization has made possible universal primary education by putting pupils in physical reach of schools and thereby removing a basic source of regional disparity. The vast distances which many students previously had to walk to school are no longer an obstacle. At the same time, villagization has made it possible in principle to organise schools not simply in terms of conventional school, staff, student and even Ministry administrative requirements, but also in terms of the actual necessities of village life and production. Thus, accompanying the numerical goal of universal access to primary education is the aim of producing a content and curriculum which has practical relevance. The frequently stated objective is that of education as a 'complete preparation for life' and the anticipation of this through maximum integration of the life of the school with its surrounding community. The broad purpose is to counter, or complement, a concept of equity based on regional competition for the distribution of national resources, by rooting the school in the local community and making its needs and opportunities the reference-point for student aspirations.

An examination of the content of primary-school activities gives evidence of substantial movement towards community relevance. The curriculum in all subjects has as its starting-point a Tanzanian framework which is meaningful and familiar to pupils. The latest step in this direction has occurred in the 'MTUU' schools, where the individual subjects, history and geography, have been merged in a single composite subject.[1] The most fundamental step towards a local rather than external frame of reference is the fact that in all but three primary schools in the country Swahili rather than English is the medium of instruction. Further adaptation of the school to local conditions has occurred in a number of ways. At a structural level the integration of decision-making between school and community is furthered through reciprocal representation in the Education Committee of the village and the Education for Self-Reliance Committee of the school. Beyond this, examples of co-operation in practical projects are widespread, especially in such tasks as school-building and cultivation, and classroom timetables are adjusted in relation to the labour needs of the agricultural seasons. We have already mentioned the role of primary schools in adult teaching. The reverse process, whereby schools draw on teaching expertise from the locality, is in most schools confined to a timetable period in which villagers provide instruction in traditional dances and crafts, but in a few it has got beyond this kind of token integration to a wider incorporation of available talent, especially in agriculture and carpentry instruction.

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[1] Achievements are assessed in the Annual Report of the MTUU Project. R.Z. Mwajombe. *Progress report for 1976*. Dar es Salaam, Ministry of National Education, 1977.

These measures are part of an attempt to defuse the sense of regional competition for national opportunities by ensuring a more localised frame of reference. However, because the curriculum is a uniform national one and selection for post-primary training and the allocation of teachers are decided centrally, there are corresponding limits to the exercise of village initiative and participation which are implicit in the Village Act.[1] There are examples of schools and villages which have applied the logic of school-community integration and taken collective decisions about which of their primary leavers should be permitted to take up centrally offered opportunities for teacher or farmer training, and have imposed a bonding arrangement which required the individuals to work for the village on return. Perhaps the best examples of this principle are Folk Development Colleges and Village Management Training Centres, which aim to provide training in skills designated by the village for individuals selected by the village. Such examples, although still rare at the primary level, do seem to be implementing the idea of a merger and to be pointing to the likely future direction of educational policy. Yet at present such initiatives seem to occur despite rather than because of the existing planning framework. As long as access to the national opportunity system is determined by an examination in the primary school and communities have little say over curriculum and placement there will be a corresponding limitation of the potential for practical and psychological integration between school and village.

Attitudes towards the teaching of English provide a striking example of the dilemma facing policy-makers who want to foster school-community integration without falling into a self-defeating isolationism. Five periods a week are devoted to the teaching of English in the top four classes of primary school in Tanzania, although its immediate practical relevance is confined to the handful who will proceed to secondary school, where English is the medium of instruction. Few countries in the world require mastery of a third language at the primary-school level. Yet few if any teachers or Ministry officials favour the abolition of English as a subject in primary school. Instead, the trend is in the opposite direction. Concerned about the deteriorating quality of English, the Ministry of National Education has set aside one of its National Colleges of Education for exclusive specialisation in this subject under the initial direction of teachers seconded from Britain. The dilemma of language policy is a most difficult one, and in Tanzania has received considerable attention.[2] To abolish English at the primary level is to deprive the majority of Tanzanians of a

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1. The Villages and Ujamaa Villages (Registration, Designation and Administration) Act, 1975, Dar es Salaam, The United Republic of Tanzania.
2. See, for example, B. Katigula, 'The teaching and learning of English in Tanzanian primary schools', M.A. thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, 1976, and Martha Mvungi, 'Language policy in education: an historical view', Papers in Education and Development, University of Dar es Salaam, Department of Education, No. 1, 1975.

'window on the world' and access to an inestimable store of knowledge and ideas. To retain it is to impose a heavy language-learning burden on young students and to run the risk that English and the culture it embodies will foster an outside perspective and frame of reference inimical to the priority goal of school-village integration. Under present policy the advantages of English for all are perceived to outweigh the risks of its retention.

## D. Political education

While educational policy has attempted to submerge regional consciousness in a sub-regional frame of reference it has simultaneously tried to foster among students a sense of cross-regional and national identity. One of the most sustained aspects of educational policy in Tanzania has been the attempt to use schools to raise political consciousness and to inculcate understanding of the conditions of Tanzania's underdevelopment, a sense of national pride and an adherence to those attributes and qualities of behaviour which are seen as the defining characteristics of Tanzanian citizenship. These qualities go far beyond the usual patriotic virtues and minimum level of allegiance to national institutions, and involve a more encompassing relationship of the individual to his nation, centring on an appreciation of the dignity of labour, a belief in the virtue of co-operative forms of labour and production, and willingness to yield self-interest for the collective cause of national development. It is hoped that through attempts to develop such qualities students can be linked to the rest of the population in a sense of common brotherhood denoted now by the title *ndugu*,[1] which overrides any regional allegiance or collective sense of relative deprivation.

There is heavy reliance on the curriculum and the content of school experience for the achievement of these goals. Political education is a curriculum subject at both primary and secondary levels and is included in the national examinations. At the same time regular paramilitary drills are intended to help instil a sense of collective discipline and the Party Youth League exists in most schools to provide vanguard leadership.

Reinforcing political education have been efforts to foster cultural nationalism. The most important contribution here has been the intensified use of Swahili. Swahili has not simply been used as a medium of instruction but has been developed itself for the purpose of conveying certain political concepts which are central to the task of socialist education.

Belief in the importance of productive work and good work habits are now enshrined in the policy of *Elimu ni Kazi*. Following the Party call that productive work be made an integral part of all education and training, the Ministry of National Education formed a special Department of School Production with responsibility for advising schools on project planning and set aside grant funds of Shs 1,864,508 ($227,379), which supported during 1976 promising projects at 53 out of 83 secondary schools and 12 out of the 32 National Teachers Colleges. Among projects receiving support were ones in poultry farming, animal husbandry, tailoring, brickmaking, soapmaking and leatherwork. Under the timetable rubric of 'Education for Self-Reliance' all schools now involve their students in regular work projects, with agriculture, especially maize production, being the most common form of work. While 'Education for Self-Reliance' work is by and large extra-curricular, the diversification programme in secondary schools has substantially altered the distribution of student classroom time between academic and practical work.[1] Under this programme all Government secondary schools specialise in one or more of four possible subjects: agriculture, technical training, commerce and home economics. Ten schools are earmarked for technical training in addition to the four already in full operation, 39 for agriculture, 26 for commerce and 7 for home economics. Under the recently revised syllabus the chosen bias takes up over one-third of a student's total class-time throughout the four years of his secondary education, and in the Cuban-built agriculture schools, which are viewed as models for the future, a student's time is divided between two half-day sessions of practical and class work.

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[1] The term literally means 'brother', but it is used as a form of address to indicate a sense of solidarity with a connotation of 'comrade' or 'one of us'.

The evident objectives of the Education for Self-Reliance activities and the diversification programme are the economic purpose of cost-covering and the educational purpose of giving training a technical and practical bias. Yet it is equally clear from the scope and scale of these activities that a socialisation purpose is also paramount, and this is suggested both by the importance now attached to work performance and work attitudes in school assessments and also by the rationale supplied by the Musoma resolution on this subject:

> But this question of making work to be an integral part of education has a more fundamental purpose than that of producing for the purpose of meeting part of the cost of running a school or any other institution concerned. We have already stated that the basic aim of our education is the development of socialist attitudes. A socialist is a worker. Therefore by introducing work in schools we are building socialist habits among the students.[2]

Evidence from anywhere concerning the effect of curriculum content on social behaviour is both limited and ambiguous. For Tanzania it is similarly difficult to assess precisely what impact formal political education is having on the development of collective socialist consciousness or equally to make any inferences about the extent to which any level of achievement in this sphere reduces regional sentiments. An exception here is the case of Tabora school, which is self-consciously aiming to develop a national leadership cadre.[3] There is, however, more general evidence to suggest that compared with ten years ago students do have a relatively stronger sense of national identity and knowledge. A comparison of a sample of students in 1975 with a similar sample from 1966 reveals consistent differences in the importance attributed to a variety of behaviours and attitudes denoting national rather than personal or parochial sentiments.[1] At the same time if, as seems likely, there has been an appreciable change there is no way of knowing whether it should be attributed more to political education and other changes inside the school, or to contemporaneous change in the wider society, or to a compound influence of the two.[2] Whatever the process, there can be little doubt that Tanzanian students have a stronger sense of national identity than their Kenyan counterparts.

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[1] A summary of the rationale for this move and progress towards it is contained in Republic of Tanzania, 1977 Budget Speech by the Minister of National Education, p. 10.

[2] 'Directive on the implementation of education for self-reliance', p. 13.

[3] See for example Makwaia Kuhenga, 'Tabora school moulds future leaders', *Daily News*, February 18, 1977.

The effects of Education for Self-Reliance and the vocationalisation programme on work attitudes are equally hard to gauge. One might expect that the sheer normalcy of work experience in schools now would help to reduce disdain for manual labour, although the opposite view is also tenable. A positive impact in this direction depends upon the form and not merely the fact of production. If the students perceive direct benefits from their work and the exercise is an educational one it is likely to have a positive impact. Some schools have been spectacularly successful, especially in agricultural production, and the benefit has been felt usually in improved diet and the availability of resources for desired improvements. Others, however, are less successful and it is clear from observation that where work is perceived as drudgery without appreciable benefit and to have a high opportunity cost, the objectives of education as work are not achieved. The diversification programme is at an early and incomplete stage of development and it is premature to assess its impact. What is clear from current operation is that although it has helped to increase production in schools it has not yet developed to a stage where it displaces academic competition for further education by a notion of practical preparation for work.

## E. Assessment and selection

The rapid achievement of relative parity of access to education requires sustained discrimination in favour of historically deprived areas. Tanzania has attempted to alter the unequal pattern of regional access through provision of resources to primary education, through control of access to secondary school and also by trying to alter the basis of subsequent selection to further training and opportunity.

Firstly, as discussed earlier, the UPE programme amounts to a policy of concentrating resources and attention on previously neglected areas. Secondly, the fact that selection for Government secondary-school places is done on a regional basis means in practice different standards of access, in which it is relatively easier to obtain access for those from less-privileged than privileged regions. Relevant to both levels is the important fact that Government schools—both primary and secondary—are not characterised by the kinds of structural and quality differences which exist in Kenya. The national system is more homogeneous in both quality and form than is the case in Kenya.

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[1] Joe Shengena, 'Socialist consciousness formation in Tanzania schools', Department of Political Science, University of Dar es Salaam, unpublished M.A. dissertation, 1975.

[2] Some findings on this issue are contained in David Court, 'The social function of formal schooling in Tanzania', *African review*, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1973.

A more radical attempt to reduce disparities of access is involved in Tanzania's modification of assessment and selection procedures and the opportunity structure to which they relate. Policy has operated on two fronts: altering assessment procedures inside the school and the incentive structure outside it. Inside the school the aim has been to broaden the criteria of assessment and especially to downgrade examinations and incorporate work attitudes and, by deliberate socialisation, to encourage students to treat their education as terminal at each stage so that their aspirations are directed away from urban wage-paying opportunities and towards rural work-opportunities. Outside the education system policy has aimed to allocate scarce and expensive opportunities for further training and employment according to community need for different types of expertise and to reduce the financial rewards associated with formal school attainment.

Implementation of these aims inside the education system has been concentrated on changing assessment methods in primary and secondary schools and the modification of admission procedures for university entry. In secondary schools continuous assessment has become established and indeed mandatory practice, and with the final examination at Form IV level counts for 50 per cent of the overall assessment which determines access to further training. Furthermore, the independent assessment of character and work attitudes is incorporated into the overall evaluation. In the assessment form used in the selection of Form IV leavers for further training and employment, head teachers are required to apply a five-point grading scale to all academic subjects and to specified categories of character and work assessment.

The new university-admission procedures require that to be eligible for consideration a student must have not simply suitable academic qualifications but at least two years of work experience and recommendations from his employer and CCM party branch chairman concerning his 'suitability in terms of character, general work performance and commitment'.[1] The procedure which aims to root selection in work experience and distance it from academic attainment has been widely and justifiably hailed as a bold step towards relevance in higher education.[2]

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[1] Extract from the wording of the advertisement for applications. The origin and details of new admission policy are described in an article entitled 'Admission to university', *Daily News*, January 8, 1975.

[2] An excellent analysis of the first year of operation of the new admission procedures is contained in G.R.V. Mmari, 'Implementation of the Musoma resolutions: the University of Dar es Salaam admissions experience', *Papers in education and development*, No. 3, University of Dar es Salaam, Department of Education, 1976. See also David Court, 'The experience of higher education in East Africa: the University of Dar es Salaam as a new model?', *Comparative education*, Vol. 11, No. 3, October 1975.

Two separate purposes related to equity are implicit in the new assessment measures inside the schools. The first is the socialisation purpose of encouraging common qualities for all students through the backwash effect of the new measures. The second is to provide a new basis for selecting some individuals for the limited available opportunities for further training and wage-employment. The rationale going back to *Education for self-reliance*, and re-stated by the Musoma Resolutions, centres on the desire to assess qualities felt to be more relevant for Tanzania's emphasis on rural development than those measured by academic examinations. At the same time, it is perceived both by those who stand to benefit and those who don't as a way in which prior educational advantage can be counteracted in the allocation of opportunities in the direction of regional equalisation. Part of the rationale is thus the idea that the competitive advantage of a particular region can be reduced by altering the terms of the competition. This would occur not simply through manipulating the content of the examinations, as is being done in Kenya, but by supplementing the currency in which advantaged regions are strong, i.e. academic attainment, by another in which their advantage is less marked, i.e. work performance.

In practice in the first years of operation the significance of the new assessment and selection procedures has centred on their socialisation effect—inducing as much common respect for productive labour as for book-based certification—rather than on their use as a new basis for altering patterns of regional access to further education. Indeed scrutiny of admissions to the University since the inauguration of the new procedures suggests that one of their paradoxical, albeit temporary, effects has been to intensify the existing imbalance in regional representation. The explanation is straightforward. The University achievement in its present forms depends upon a basic minimum of academic experience. The pool of those who possess the minimum academic pre-requisites, in addition to other desired qualities, is dominated by those from areas which have depth in their stock of educated youth, i.e. the richer and better-endowed regions whose students have historically been disproportionately represented at the University.

At the lower levels of the system work assessment is used to supplement academic performance, made up of both continuous and examination evaluation. At standard seven records of work attitude are maintained, but actual selection to secondary school is determined almost entirely by examination performance. At the secondary level non-academic criteria in assessment operate as a minimal pre-requisite rather than a major determinant. Students must pass on character and attitude to work in order to qualify for a certificate, and to obtain a Division I certificate the required academic aggregate must be accompanied by the top grade on character. In practice, many schools hesitate to award low grades for work attitude and character for fear of penalizing students from the school and region. Five per cent of the total number of Form IV candidates last year fell in the lowest category of the character scale and hence were automatically disqualified from receiving a Form IV certificate. However, almost all of this group also failed to reach the minimum academic standard. A mere 0.1 per cent of the 13,340 students who sat for the examination in 1976 qualified in the academic section but failed to receive a certificate because of their low character assessment.

It is difficult, as the Ministry has acknowledged, to classify on a graduated scale such qualities as 'appreciation of work', 'quality of work performance', 'diligence', 'dedication', 'co-operative behaviour', and so forth, and they lend themselves to personalised assessments. However, the fact that even a few are penalized in the selection system for inadequate work performance, combined with the pervasiveness of the official concern in school with work attitudes, seems likely at the very least to spread a sense of the normalcy of productive work and make a corresponding inroad into the condition of academic élitism.

The measures of political education and work emphasis incorporated in new assessment procedures have had a significant socialising effect. It is not clear that they have been able to encourage students to view courses as terminal preparation and to aspire to village work or to dispel the widespread preference for continuation to a maximum amount of formal education which provides the impetus to individual and regional competition. Popular concern with examinations, while arguably less acute than in Kenya, remains as we have seen pervasive. Schools, especially at the secondary level, are the arena for individual and regional competition on the basis of examination results and disparities are accentuated by the fact that there is no regional quota for entry to Form V, which is the critical step for later access to the University. The list of students selected for Form V in 1977, which is published by the Ministry of National Education, suggests the disproportionate recruitment of students from historically advantaged regions, although precision on this point is difficult because the list does not specify regional origins and this has to be inferred from nomenclature. If, as seems likely, disparities do exist they are partly to be accounted for by the number entering Form V from private schools, as these schools are concentrated in the more advantaged regions. In 1976, 10 per cent of the total intake into Form V came from these schools.

The dilemma is that as long as academic content is even a small part of the assessment system which leads to selection for valued opportunities, regions with long-established educational facilities will have a comparative advantage. On the other hand, to depart from academic content in the absence of acceptable measures of other qualities is to risk introducing a level of subjectivity or randomness into selection which does not serve goals of quality, however defined, or goals of equity because of the loss of credibility which such emphases inevitably contain.

To point out the dilemma is not to call for a return to exclusive reliance on academic examinations but to underscore the importance of continuing the search for ways of assessing the whole range of qualities which Tanzania wishes its educational system to produce. The country is not trying to dispense with merit in selection but rather to broaden the range of qualities which merit denotes. From the standpoint of equity the critical need is that of finding ways of assessing those extra qualities in a consistent fashion and incorporating them into selection practice. Without such accepted means, corresponding to the actual opportunity structure, policy will be left heavily reliant on political education, which is likely to be notable less for its quality of liberating mass energies and expectations than for persuading acceptance of continued inequalities.

## F. Dilemma of educational policy in Tanzania

The preceding pages have summarised aspects of Tanzania's response to the problems of regional disparities and concentrated on three principal elements: the removal of basic disparities through the provision of a basic common education for all children and adults; regulation of access to state-supported opportunities for further education, coupled with a broadening of the curriculum and criteria of selection to include work as well as academic performance; and an associated emphasis on political education to encourage a sense of unity and common identity. While some aspects of the overall programme are new and incomplete—most notably UPE and the diversification programme—it is possible to draw some conclusions from the achievements and problems associated with Tanzania's efforts.

Tanzania has managed to substantially reduce disparities in the fundamental areas of literacy and access to knowledge, and current trends suggest that UPE and continued mass adult education will bring the country close to the attainment of universal literacy. Three main factors account for this achievement. Central Government willingness to give relatively greater weight to primary and adult education in the allocation of budget resources is clearly a first pre-requisite. Associated with this has been substantial external support and the willingness of the largest single source of such support for it to be used for recurrent costs. Secondly, both adult education and UPE are part of a larger process of social transformation and rural development which have provided, through villagization and decentralisation, a logic, a momentum and a structure for the change. Thirdly, the role of the national political party has been critical. As well as providing the impetus through the initial resolution the mass political party has provided an indispensable framework of administration and implementation. UPE and the mass literacy campaigns were acts of political imagination and will— leaps of faith rather than carefully calculated moves. The result has been the establishment of a basic platform of educational service for all Tanzanians through the provision of opportunity to attend school for seven years and to participate in literacy and adult-education classes. To be sure, the provision while still not yet universal is also not internally equitable. Primary schools differ in quality from one part of the country to another, while women rather than men still dominate literacy classes in Tanzania as elsewhere. The impact of parental income on access to primary school which has been a feature of the past should virtually disappear with UPE, but the recent introduction of Shs 20 payment per child means that inevitably this feature will remain. Yet when these and other anomalies have been taken into account one is left with a provision which comes close to the realistic limits of common treatment. It does not harbour the extreme kinds of group and regional differentials in access to varieties of privileged education and opportunity—based on prior access to language, nursery school, fees and the culture of the examination—which are characteristics of the Kenyan scene.

While it can plausibly be argued that Tanzania is coming close to the establishment of a foundation of educational provision for all citizens, it has yet to resolve dilemmas in two other spheres which are central to its concept of regional equalisation. The first is the task of applying the logic of decentralisation and self-reliance in a way which reconciles regional initiative and the policy of national development. The second is the challenge of devising opportunity structures which reinforce rather than undermine educational policies.

The problem of encouraging regional initiatives in education while retaining the essentials of national policy is hardly unique to Tanzania, but takes on particular significance there because of the unique stress on decentralisation and self-reliance.

Tanzania has clearly-articulated objectives of national development, and education is assigned a major role in their achievement. Particular purposes and forms for education are prescribed for the whole country. The task of communicating and implementing national purposes in education in the early years of Independence created a corresponding need for a centralised Ministry of Education controlling the curriculum, equipment, examinations, assessment procedures and so forth, and a centralised process of manpower planning. Associated with this procedure was the growth of a national reward structure and opportunity system based on wage-paying occupations tied to nationally certified levels of attainment.

However, increasingly in the past five years the emphasis of national policy has been towards self-reliance, the integration of school and community and the establishment of links to local rather than national opportunities and frames of reference. The dilemma thus arises from the extent to which the logic of decentralisation and self-reliance principles are pressing against the prevailing structures of centralisation and national opportunities. The dilemma displays itself at a functional or administrative level and also in its impact on aspirations and motivations. The administrative issue is the degree and form of decentralisation which is necessary to permit village responsiveness to local skill and training requirements. Central policy can and does specify desired forms of village-school administration, but the diversity of conditions within the country and consequent differences in skill needs, plus the fact that perceptions and priorities differ from one part of the country to another, means that decentralisation entails divergence. The issue thus becomes one of how much divergence in content of education and in the form of its organisation is possible before it undermines national policy. The associated aspect of the problem is the extent to which people can be encouraged to aspire to village-level opportunities in face of a national reward structure which encourages people to think beyond the village. One of the consequences of the success of socialisation policies in creating a sense of nationhood is a corresponding regional desire for access to national opportunities and to the type of education which is their key. These two aspects can be illustrated at the primary and secondary levels.

As we have shown, part of Tanzania's handling of regional disparities is to pursue the integration of school and community—particularly in joint production—and to encourage students to think in terms of local applications for their energy and creativity. This is an integral part of the policies of villagization and decentralisation, but such policies of participation require a high level of local control. If educational facilities in a region are to be responsive to local training and skill needs, the regional community must have a major share in deciding such things as the curriculum, recruitment and the selection of students for further training. In practice the division of responsibility between centre and region is not yet geared to this level of autonomy. Each primary school is under the administrative care of the village or ward which in reality owns the school, and parents are encouraged to participate in the running of the school. However, contrasting with the intention of administrative provision is the fact that responsibility for the curriculum, examination and selection for post-primary opportunities remains centralised. Such a framework puts limits on the meaning of decentralisation. An example can illustrate the dilemma. It is frequently asserted that primary schools should organise their timetables around the requirements of the agricultural seasons in their locality. In practice, flexibility is circumscribed by such things as the important national radio courses for primary schools, the timetable of the national examination and other things such as centrally organised refresher programmes for teachers.

There are political costs both to centralisation, which is too tight, and to decentralisation, which is too loose. If control is too tight regionalism may be intensified out of a sense of thwarted initiative. At the same time, central control inevitably tends to define the education system in terms of national job opportunities, whereas the country is trying to encourage a local frame of reference. The Ruvuma Development Association, which in many ways was a forerunner of present day *Ujamaa* villages, broke up precisely because of the conflict between the local sentiment that the centrally imposed curriculum did not meet the real needs of the community and the reluctance of central government to grant the degree of autonomy which was desired.[1] On the other hand, if control is too loose and regional enterprise is given free rein, the better-endowed regions advance more rapidly, as witness the *Harambee* school phenomenon in Kenya, and the possibility of centrally engineered compensatory provision for the poorer regions is reduced. The dilemma is that a sizeable measure of devolution in matters such as curriculum content, timetable and organisation seems necessary for both relevance and equity in education and would certainly seem to be a logical extension of Tanzania's chosen policies, but unless they occur within a common framework of agreed principle they can endanger and fragment national policy. There is no simple formula which can provide an answer in Tanzania or elsewhere to this dilemma. The particular interest of Tanzanian policy is that the success of policies of national integration seems to permit and augur well for the unique levels of educational decentralisation which are now envisaged.

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[1] S. Toroka, 'Education for self-reliance: the Litowa experiment', in Lionel Cliffe and John Saul, *Socialism in Tanzania*, Vol. 2, Nairobi, East African Publishing House, 1973.

At the primary level the dilemma poses itself in terms of implicit inconsistencies in the division of responsibility between centre and region and the search for an administrative framework permitting central leadership and regional initiative. However, at the secondary level the issue has been more acute because the operation of self-help has in some areas taken a direction which ran counter to national policy and revealed the continued importance of the national opportunity structure in sustaining regional disparities. That the growth of private secondary schools during the ten-year period 1966-1976 occurred in a very uneven manner can be seen in Table 17. Enrolment at private schools rose from 1,065 in 1965 to 17,196 in 1976, when there were 61 private schools in operation as compared to 81 government schools. Demand for private education was concentrated in precisely those areas which have had the

TABLE 17. Enrolment in aided and unaided secondary schools by region, 1966 and 1976

| Region | 1966 | | | | 1976 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | Aided | % | Unaided | % | Aided | % | Unaided |
| Arusha | 2.9 | 685 | 5.4 | 203 | 3.3 | 1 310 | 8.8 | 1 513 |
| Coast | 20.3 | 4 842 | 28.0 | 1 062 | 4.5 | 1 810 | — | — |
| Dar es Salaam | — | — | — | — | 13.3 | 5 321 | 20.8 | 3 592 |
| Dodoma | 6.7 | 1 596 | 3.5 | 134 | 7.0 | 2 799 | 2.5 | 429 |
| Iringa | 7.1 | 1 702 | 1.0 | 40 | 8.4 | 3 365 | 4.0 | 679 |
| Kigoma | 1.2 | 276 | — | — | 1.1 | 431 | 0.8 | 141 |
| Kilimanjaro | 11.7 | 2 781 | 14.2 | 540 | 11.4 | 4 542 | 19.8 | 3 414 |
| Lindi | — | — | — | — | 1.1 | 427 | 2.7 | 466 |
| Mara | 2.4 | 562 | 4.4 | 167 | 3.6 | 1 417 | 2.0 | 349 |
| Mbeya | 4.3 | 1 013 | 5.1 | 194 | 4.1 | 1 619 | 3.7 | 665 |
| Morogoro | 5.9 | 1 399 | 4.0 | 150 | 4.5 | 1 788 | 7.6 | 1 317 |
| Mtwara | 6.0 | 1 430 | 0.7 | 25 | 5.0 | 1 961 | — | — |
| Mwanza | 7.3 | 1 743 | 14.9 | 563 | 6.2 | 2 463 | 8.2 | 1 421 |
| Rukwa | — | — | — | — | 0.9 | 341 | 1.1 | 194 |
| Ruvuma | 2.6 | 627 | 3.2 | 122 | 4.0 | 1 607 | 1.6 | 282 |
| Shinyanga | 1.2 | 288 | — | — | 1.6 | 639 | 2.6 | 453 |
| Singida | — | — | 0.6 | 23 | 2.1 | 844 | 0.7 | 125 |
| Tabora | 6.6 | 1 568 | 3.8 | 145 | 5.5 | 2 209 | 3.0 | 518 |
| Tanga | 8.4 | 1 997 | 4.8 | 181 | 7.4 | 2 973 | 3.8 | 663 |
| West Lake | 5.6 | 1 327 | 6.4 | 243 | 5.2 | 2 091 | 5.9 | 1 024 |
| Tanzania | | 23 836 | | 3 792 | | 39 947 | | 17 245 |

SOURCE Republic of Tanzania, Budget Speech of the Minister of National Education, July 1977.

best-quality primary and secondary schools but which suffered from policy restricting the expansion of Government secondary schools. The problem of private schools in Kenya is frequently stated in terms of their commercial and exploitative character and poor quality, but it is clear that in Tanzania some are of very high quality. For instance, out of the 118 schools entering candidates for the Form IV examination in 1975 the top five in terms of aggregate performance on combined subjects were all private schools. In one region in 1976 the best private school sent 25 students to Form V and managed to place all other leavers in further training or employment.

Several points concerning regional equity can be usefully made about private schools. Firstly, charging approximately Shs 2,000 per year in fees they obviously can exist only in wealthy areas. Secondly, many of the private schools are either seminaries or retain a close association with long-established missions, which suggests another means whereby historical advantages are maintained. Thirdly, the level of academic attainment reached by students from the private schools raises a question about the effectiveness of the secondary-school selection examination, given that virtually all their recruits are students rejected by that examination. Even a casual reading of examination papers raises questions about what they are intended to measure beyond some specific items of knowledge, and the wide ability-range in Form I about which teachers are frequently complaining suggests that it may have poor predictive validity.[1] The equity implications of its content have not yet been given the degree of research attention which they have received in Kenya.

The political overtones of the demand for private education were evident in the fact that the Government chose for a long period to tolerate and regulate these schools, although the effect of such a large private sector was to perpetuate the disproportionate advantage of already favoured regions and ethnic groups. This concession was a striking indication of the strength of the constraints which face attempts at central manipulation of regional access to education. However, in mid-1978 the Tanzanian Government decided to tackle this anomaly directly. It was declared that no further private schools would be registered and that the practice whereby pupils transferred from private to Government-owned schools in the course of their education would no longer be permitted. The equity rationale for this decision was clearly laid down by President Nyerere in an address to the National Assembly on the subject.[2] Now that the nettle has been grasped it will be fascinating to observe the extent to which Tanzania can by this measure re-direct private initiative to social ends and prevent it re-surfacing in some new educational form. Indeed Tanzania's success in curbing demand for academic continuation will provide an important measure of the practical scope for countering regional disparities through educational policy.

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[1] Factors relating to such an assessment are discussed in I.M. Omari and T.J. Manase, *The Tanzania primary school leaving examination*, University of Dar es Salaam, Department of Education, 1977.

[2] Reported in the *Sunday News*, 18 June 1978.

The two types of dilemma which have been highlighted here—selection and devolution—converge in the problem of planning for the end of universal primary education. Given that by 1984 a mere 2 per cent of primary-school leavers will be able to proceed to secondary school,[1] the major challenge facing Tanzania is to devise plans for the mass end of primary education. Such a plan needs to provide a means of selecting for the differentially available opportunities—secondary school, post-primary craft centres, Folk Development Colleges, vocational training and village employment—in a way which preserves the logic of common treatment on which equalisation policies are based. Such a plan seems likely to require credible measures of assessment of both academic and non-academic qualities, along with extensive provision for local participation in deciding who goes where, for what purpose and on what basis.

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1. Ministry of National Education estimate.

# IV. The limits of equalisation: implications for planning

The preceding pages have described the problem of regional disparities in education in Kenya and Tanzania and examined the response of the two countries in the context of their respective development policies. The assumption prompting this investigation was the view that one of the deficiencies of educational planning in the past has been the inadequate attention given to the social context in which it operates. From this premise followed our attempt to illustrate the relationship between educational practice and development ideology in two neighbouring countries and to specify some of the influential characteristics of the social context. In this final section we draw some conclusions about the conditions which influence planning for equality, the arenas of necessary policy response, the feasibility of particular objectives and the implications for the planning process itself.

In an earlier section we contrasted the planning model which Kenya and Tanzania seem to represent. This characterisation of contrasts is a useful guide to relative intentions and emerging trends, but hides as well as reveals aspects of current practice. We have highlighted the differences of educational practice in such areas as language, political education, emphasis on student production, allocation of resources to adult education and so forth. Yet behind the manifest differences are surprising similarities and instructive ironies. To move from the Kenyan to the Tanzanian education system is still to move into familiar territory. In particular, the basic four-tier structure of formal education remains similar in both countries. The innovations have almost always been superimposed on or inserted into the existing structure. Other similarities include the pervasive concern with examination, didactic styles of teaching, the stress on self-help and the common concern of policy to reconcile individuals to remaining inequalities. Beyond similarities which belie the implication of the contrasting models are ironies where the outcome in Kenya seems closer to the intention in Tanzania than its own policy and *vice versa*. For example, it has been argued that the Kenya *Harambee* movement in terms of its ability to generate community resources is a rather outstanding example of educational self-reliance.[1]

[1] This and related arguments are contained in Edmund O'Connor, 'Contrasts in educational development in Kenya and Tanzania', *African affairs*, 73 (290) 1974.

Similarly, the sheer scale of Kenyan post-primary education—there are more students in Form I than in the whole of the Tanzanian secondary system—illustrates a concern for mass secondary education which is one of the underemphasized items of the Musoma Resolutions. If only for negative reasons—i.e., the saturation of opportunities—Form IV leavers in Kenya end up in their rural community, which is an important emphasis of Tanzania policy. On the Tanzanian side, one could point to the relative efficiency of manpower planning in comparison with Kenya, and the quality of private schools! However, such ironies, while interesting, are of limited interpretative value. In the last resort, seemingly similar educational practices do not have the same meaning in the two countries because of their different and unequal points of departure, and more important because of the different socio-economic strategies which each is pursuing and the extent to which in Tanzania education is part of a larger process of social transformation. These factors place limits on the value of direct comparison.

However, whatever the paradoxes, the national policies, albeit in different ways, are pressing against the limits of the old structure and pushing both towards fundamental change with important planning implications. In Kenya the limit is signified by the guidelines to the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies that its recommendations for reform must come under a financial ceiling determined by the rate of economic growth.[1] In Tanzania it is the intensifying momentum of decentralisation and villagization which is producing the demand for new types of planning. As we search for a positive direction of planning for equality, the similarities and ironies as well as the differences of educational practice in Kenya and Tanzania, and the contextual constraints which they imply, provide a useful guide to the issues which planning will have to confront.

## A. Issues facing efforts to reduce disparities

*1. Regionalism*. We argued at the start that the main impetus to the removal of regional disparities is political rather than educational. The significance of continuing disparities lies in the threat which they pose to national integration rather than in the extent that they betray divergence from world norms of educational equality. From this perspective the ultimate criterion for assessing educational planning is the success of equalisation policies in preventing national disintegration. Such an assessment has to take account of how serious a threat to national unity educational disparities pose as contrasted with other forms of social differentiation. It would be presumptuous to try and use the scattered descriptive data presented here for any kind of comparative prediction for Kenya and Tanzania on an issue as complex and riddled with imponderables as this. The important point for our purposes is that in both countries, although more acutely in Kenya than Tanzania, regional differentiation because of its association with ethnicity seems likely to remain a more important factor than most if not all other possible sources of differentiation. Sexual disparities, while an affront to universal feminism and notions of equality and a source of under-utilised human potential, are not yet the subject of urgent political demand. Likewise rural-urban differences, although striking, are in themselves a rather minor aspect of the overall picture of disparity in East Africa. By contrast, the relationship between regional and socio-economic differences is a major issue of immense complexity and ambiguity and the extent and nature of class differentiation an issue of current controversy.[1] Development policy in Tanzania has socialism and the reduction of economic inequalities as its main aim. Neither *Education for self-reliance* nor the Musoma Resolutions make any overt references to regional as compared to socio-economic differences. Nevertheless the reduction of regionalism is subsumed under the socialist objectives and, as we have seen, educational practice is permeated by a concern for regional equality. In Kenya, socio-economic differences are visible and extreme but there remains still limited evidence of a class-consciousness which extends across regional and ethnic boundaries. This does not rule out the possibility of class divisions within regions but does suggest that the region is likely to remain an important unit of educational equality for the immediate future.

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[1] See the terms of reference for the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies, *Report*, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1976.

2. *Universal education.* Any policy of reducing disparities has to begin with the need and the demand for a basic minimum education for all citizens. A commitment to the goal of universal primary education can be found in the KANU manifesto in Kenya and a similar objective for 1989 is stated in Tanzania's Second Five-Year Development Plan. Kenya has adopted a gradual approach to the goal but until 1976 was enrolling a higher proportion of pupils in primary school than Tanzania. Popular pressure to speed up the process led to the abolition of fees for the first four years of primary education, and as Kenya is adopting a 'basic needs' strategy as the theme of its next Development Plan, the pace towards universal primary education is likely to be intensified. The impetus to action—the concept of equal opportunity—which lies at the heart of educational policy is clearly weakened as long as a sizeable proportion of children receive no educational opportunity. The emphasis on formal opportunity, however, permits Kenya to pay less attention to adult than to primary education. Tanzania, which found the proportion of primary enrolment actually declining in the late 1960s, opted in 1974 for a sudden drive to the achievement of UPE in three years.

The two most important issues arising from the goal of universal primary education are those of the conditions necessary for achieving rapidly expanded enrolment on the one hand and those for retaining pupils in school on the other.

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[1] Some of this is summarised in David Court, 'The education system as a response to inequality in Kenya and Tanzania'.

It is obviously premature to assess the Tanzanian achievement, but the published enrolment figures for the target date reveal that national enrolment for the relevant age-group approximates 90 per cent.[1] The most important factor in this achievement has been the supportive condition of villagization, the contribution of self-help, careful planning especially of teacher provision, and above all the contribution of the grass-roots political party to the necessary mass mobilisation and commitment. The more difficult task of motivation and retention will depend upon the speed with which village opportunity and employment structures can provide a meaningful purpose into which schools can be integrated. It remains to be seen whether mass enrolment can be followed by a sufficiently clear definition and sufficiently broad acceptance of the new purpose for the schools to avoid problems of attrition. The critical contribution of the political party to mass enrolment in Tanzania, combined with the new purpose implicit in plans for village-based development, suggests that Kenya may find it difficult to emulate Tanzania's numerical achievement, not to mention its more substantive aspects. Until recently the more extensive opportunities for secondary education and further training and the distant goal of wage-sector employment seemed to provide an incentive, however illusory, which encouraged enrolment and assisted retention. However, there are some signs now that this incentive is losing its appeal. After the rush to enrol following the declaration of free education for the first four years there has been a falling-off in continuation rates. Even more portentous in its implications is the fact that in one province the number of those sitting the CPE examination at the end of primary school has actually declined over the past three years. If such trends gather momentum they suggest that a watershed has been reached in Kenya, in that for the first time since Independence individuals are concluding that formal education is not necessarily worth the opportunity cost. If, furthermore, this kind of disillusionment with formal education takes a regional dimension it poses, needless to say, a major problem in the form of a need to devise alternative kinds of purpose for formal education in the way that Tanzania is now trying to do.

*3. Self-help and self-reliance*. The operation of community self-help in educational development illustrates very nicely the different approaches to equalisation adopted by Kenya and Tanzania. Although both Kenya's educational *harambee* and Tanzania's 'Education for self-reliance' are measures of equalisation, they differ markedly in political intention and practical application. In the heyday of secondary-school expansion in the 1960s the *Harambee* movement in Kenya represented a genuine community response to a perceived need.[2] The need was seen to be that of more schools, and communities throughout the country which felt deprived organised themselves to put up money for school buildings. The Government at first was nervous about the

[1] *Sunday News*, 18 September 1977.

[2] See John Anderson, *The struggle for the school*, Nairobi, Longmans, 1970, and *Organization and financing of self-help education in Kenya*, Paris, Unesco/IIEP, 1973.

challenge to manpower plans presented by this uncontrolled expansion, but then accepted the necessity for regulation and support and viewed this in part as a strategy for equalisation through rewarding regional initiative. However, the prospect of Government take-over or contribution in the form of teachers and so forth quickly itself became the main object of community strategy as a means towards expanded educational facilities. Because those communities with greatest resources were best-equipped for self-help and its associated pressure on Government, *Harambee* for secondary schools tended in the long term to exacerbate rather than reduce regional inequalities. More recently it has frequently tended to become a vehicle for political self-promotion and has been criticised in some of its manifestations as a device for popular mystification and a form of regressive taxation.[1]

Where *Harambee* originated in regional communities largely as a strategy for raising money and putting pressure on Government, Education for self-reliance originated as Government policy with a substantial content of ideals. It applies nationwide to existing schools rather than as a device for the creation of new ones, involves a philosophy of co-operative work and community integration, and aims at production not to pre-empt Government funds but to reduce Government obligations to a particular school and to release them for other purposes. Thus while *Harambee* in one sense has been an attempt by regional communities at the self-regulation of regional disparities its very nature has tended to intensify those disparities, while Education for Self-Reliance has been at the heart of official equalisation policy.

However, in Tanzania as well as Kenya it has proved politically impossible to prevent regional enterprise in education taking its own course. Despite tight manpower policies and a national political machinery, Tanzania has not been able to prevent private regional initiatives in the form of private schools, although in Tanzania they are heavily concentrated in certain areas and are less of a national phenomenon than in Kenya. It seems irrefutable that in both Kenya and Tanzania self-help of this sort has in the past favoured the more privileged communities. However, the work by Winans, referred to earlier, suggests that although educational self-help established itself most quickly in comparatively well-developed areas, there is a growing tendency now for self-help organisations to develop most strongly in less-developed areas.[2] If this is so, it provides some prospect that educational disparities can be alleviated by a process over which Government has limited control anyway.

4. *Decentralisation*. The difficulty with self-help is that it takes control of the process of equitable distribution away from the central government. This in turn

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1. The most comprehensive assessment of *Harambee* self-help in Kenya is contained in Philip M. Mbithi and Rasmus Rasmusson, *Self-reliance in Kenya: the case of Harambee*, Uppsala, The Scandinavian Institute for African Studies, 1977.
2. Edgar V. Winans and Angelique Haugerud, 'Rural self-help in Kenya: the Harambee movement', p. 349.

raises the larger issue of decentralisation. The administration of education in both Kenya and Tanzania is highly centralised. The historical reasons for such centralisation are well known. They include the early concentration on training high-level manpower and relating this to national economic plans, a belief in the need for a uniform curriculum both to ensure minimum national standards and to encourage desired socialisation, and a view of educational resources as political assets for judicious distribution. This rationale remains congruent with Kenya's equalisation policies, which depend upon the central control and distribution of educational opportunities. They pose a more fundamental dilemma for Tanzania, where equalisation policies are part of a complete restructuring of social organisation. The dilemma resides in the fact that this restructuring seems to demand simultaneously localisation as an objective and centralisation as a mechanism.

The policies of decentralisation, villagization and rural relevance in education all require local participation, responsibility and control. On the other hand, the desire for rapid and substantial structural change accompanied by broad-based socialisation requires strong central prescription and control of the process. As already demonstrated, the balance at the moment lies heavily on the side of central control in Tanzania.[1] At the same time, the increasing demand for local participation and control presage the likelihood of change. In addition to the examples of community control over selection, the best examples are the broad-based representation in institutional management, whether it be the committee structure of the University or the village-committee control of primary schools. At present community participation tends to be limited, given the restrictive control of the Ministry of National Education over curriculum and selection. The likelihood is that the current rather nominal participation will steadily move towards more broad-based involvement in decision-making. This will then give point to the challenge facing the implementation of Tanzanian ideals, of designing 'new planning mechanisms which somehow combine central control of the overall direction of development and still promote the local participation and planning called for by the philosophy'.[2]

*5. Selection.* Our review of policy in Kenya and Tanzania has drawn attention to the critical importance of selection in strategies of equalisation. Altering the structure of educational selection is fundamental to any significant progress towards both relevance and equity in education. Kenya's strategy of expanding opportunity depends heavily upon the impartial allocation of individuals to limited opportunities, and in consequence Kenya is giving close attention to the improvement of its examinations at all levels. The vulnerability of this

[1] A most perceptive explanation for the relative importance of the polity in Tanzanian development planning and a comprehensive characterisation of resulting policy is contained in Goran Hyden, 'We must run while others walk: policy making for socialist development in the Tanzania-type of polity', Kwan Kim, Robert Mabele, Michael Shulteis (eds). *The Tanzania economy: perspectives on development*. Nairobi. Heinemann, 1978.

[2] David R. Evans. 'Responsive educational planning, myth or reality?', p. 12.

dependence on examinations lies in the difficulty of designing tests which do not give a disproportionate advantage to particular regional and social groups and the consequent likelihood that ultimately those who are not beneficiaries of the emphasis on selection for high-level manpower will become alienated and will question the criteria which determine their rejection. Tanzania's policy of equalisation involves a major attempt to break the stranglehold of academic examinations upon school practice and selection. This is being done through increased emphasis upon continuous assessment and a search for new forms of non-academic criteria of assessment. The rationale is clear but the potential risks are great. It is very clear that schools will never orient themselves psychologically and practically to village needs and rural development as long as a selection examination based in part on academic content at the end of school holds out the possibility of access to a wage-earning position in the national job-structure. It is equally clear that Tanzania does need to have a means of promoting and nurturing individual ability and mobilising national talent. At the moment Tanzania remains dependent upon examinations in selection, but has not given the content of these examinations the kind of attention on equity or even educational grounds which they have received in Kenya. At the same time Tanzania has embarked on the search for that elusive form of selection that encourages and identifies both the intellectual qualities which can permit an individual to benefit from the demands of advanced training and the qualities of character and social commitment which can make likely the social application of acquired expertise. In the first years of operation the new procedures have been inevitably characterised as much by problems as by achievement. Yet if the appeal invoked in both countries that individuals serve their society is to have any substance, means have to be found of encouraging social commitment and incorporating it into the package of measured attributes which are used to justify the application of state resources for the further training of individuals.

6. *Reconciliation to inequality.* Given the persistence of regional disparities referred to earlier, policy is likely to continue to be concerned in some degree with securing popular acceptance of them. In Kenya it is assumed that regional and individual inequalities are an inevitable consequence of a selective school system geared to manpower requirements which is believed to be necessary for economic growth. Educational policy emphasises the concept of equal opportunity and the meritocratic nature of selection procedures as a way of securing acceptance of these disparities. Tanzania, by contrast, views regional and individual inequalities as a danger to development and their minimisation as a prerequisite for more efficient societal institutions and more rapid long-term economic development. From the standpoint of regional inequality the long-term test of Kenya's education policy is whether the emphasis on high-level manpower can be sufficiently complemented by regional quotas and 'second-chance' opportunities that it does not produce regional outrage at sustained rejection. One risk of Tanzania's different strategy is the possibility that the temporary thwarting of regional aspirations and initiative in the quest for

equalisation does not produce intolerable levels of economic inefficiency which jeopardize the long-term prospects. An alternative danger is that the declaration of political attainment in terms of citizenship does not halt the equalisation drive before an acceptable level of regional and social parity has been attained.

## B. Implications for the planning process

A number of points with direct implications for the process of planning educational equality can be made from our survey of the experience of Kenya and Tanzania and of the issues of regional disparity which seem likely to persist into the immediate future. Two features in particular have significance for the quality and relevance of educational planning. In the first place, our survey confirms that regional disparities in education, perhaps more than any other issues, are intricately bound up with the social context in which they exist, and hence their alleviation involves little less than the task of development itself. The second feature is the likelihood that educational policy, in reality as well as intention, will become decentralised, more immediately perhaps in Tanzania but inevitably in Kenya too. These two features—the one long-standing, the other more recent—have important implications for the conception of planning, its scale and appropriate location, the kind of planners required and the types of relevant research which might usefully contribute to the improved quality of planning in the future.

The most obvious consequence of the conclusion that equalisation and development are a synonymous process is the fact that disparities are not easily modified by individual planning techniques and marginal adjustment, but instead have to be part of a comprehensive policy sustained over a long period. The very complexity of the inter-relationship has implications for the scale and locus of planning initiatives. We have in this paper treated disparities in a rather undifferentiated fashion, but two points should be clear, at least by implication, from our review of Kenya and Tanzania. In the first place, disparities when 'solved' at one level re-emerge in a different guise at another level of the opportunity structure and the history of the issue is one of resistance to planning. Secondly, our conclusion from this situation is not to dismiss the possibilities of planning but to conclude that planning for the reduction of regional disparities does have to address basic structural issues such as, for example, income distribution and, more generally, does not make any sense unless it begins by understanding the underlying causes and conditions of inequalities as well as their nature and extent.

The notion that education reform is conceived in central planning units is belied by the experience of Kenya and Tanzania. Few of the really major initiatives concerning regional equality in either of the two countries can be said to have originated in the Ministry of Education, and in some instances the Ministry itself was taken by surprise. Thus, for example, in Kenya the most significant developments—*Harambee* secondary schools, village polytechnics, the Institutes of Technology, and the notion of a nine-year basic cycle—all originated in local individual or community initiatives outside the development plans of the Ministry of Education. The abolition of school fees for the first four years of primary school was a Presidential announcement for which the Treasury had eleven days' notice! Similarly in Tanzania, *Education for self-reliance* and the Musoma Resolutions, involving changes of unprecedented significance, originated in a political process outside the Ministry of National Education. Changes of the magnitude of the decision to accelerate UPE, along with a number of other decisions, are clearly acts of political faith and party commitment which would not occur at all if left to a 'rational' planning process. Once the reforms are developed the Ministry is heavily involved in and largely responsible for carrying them out. The point is that in the past planning has been technocratic rather than visionary in ethos and dominated by implementation rather than initiation.

It is relevant to try and account for this characteristic of the past, as its modification for the future seems a necessary contribution to the planning process. One explanation is that the sheer magnitude of the task of running and expanding the inherited system has consumed the energies of Ministries, confined their personnel to the task of implementation and limited their opportunity for proposing means of reducing regional disparities. A different although not exclusive explanation is that the highly political content of any policy relating to disparities has encouraged a preference for leaving it to political decision-makers. Accompanying this predilection for an implementing role may have been a self-imposed isolation from trends related to educational disparities. The isolation is of two types. On the one hand, the inherited ethos of centralisation which was described earlier may have induced a reluctance to pursue a logic of equalisation which might lead to a diminution of central control. At the same time there has been a marked reluctance and an inability to open the issue of educational disparity to intensive research, perhaps again because of the political sensitivity of data on regional access to education and performance.

Part of the new task is to find ways of decentralising planning. Neither Kenya nor Tanzania has yet found satisfactory ways of using decentralisation to counter the problem of disparities, but in both cases a move in the direction, albeit with different conceptions, stems from the logic of policy. In Kenya the logical rationale for present practice means that education is conceived as the bastion of equal opportunity, which is the underlying if illusory ideal of development policy. Ensuring the preservation of an ideal, itself illusory, requires minimising the gap between that ideal and the reality by ensuring a semblance of parity of treatment in the operation of the national educational system. This in turn depends upon the efficient extension to all regions of the centrally devised content and machinery of education and selection.

In Tanzania the goal of an education which is a complete preparation for life and response to community needs demands a level of local autonomy to decide what these needs are and how they should be met through training. Decentralisation in the sense of regional autonomy is itself conceived of as equalisation, irrespective of central calculations of regional opportunity to the national job-structure. For this purpose, however, decentralisation has to be more than the downward extension of hierarchical authority for more effective bureaucratic control. Instead, it has to provide an interlocking opportunity for village, ward, district and regional participation within the overall problem framework. At present, Tanzania is some distance from this ideal. District and Regional Education Officers are technocrats and extension agents of the central Ministry. They are caught up with conventional problems of school discipline, unemployment, examinations and access and so forth, with little time left for experimentation of a socialist or any other type. The pressure for change, however, is likely to come from the village and ward and the individual school, where attempts to extend participation and apply a particularistic conception of decentralisation are emerging. At this point such pressures begin to infuse the structure of decentralisation which already exists, and new conceptions of planning and new divisions of local and central authority are likely to emerge. In this connection it will be instructive to observe the part played by the newly established role of village manager. A recognition of one type of consequence for manpower planning is evident in the Minister's introduction to the Manpower Report to the President of Tanzania for 1975:

> Without questioning the usefulness and importance of our achievement so far in manpower development, it is the task of the Ministry of Manpower Development to evolve a more elaborate system of manpower development which will establish symmetry between our policy of socialism and self-reliance and national manpower development. For the creation of socialist institutions in our country demands a manpower development strategy which will adequately cater for the needs of those institutions. What is implied here is that our system of manpower planning and development must go far beyond the construction of purely quantitative forecasts, projections or targets for formal education. It should be related to a broad strategy of human resource development for the realization of our broader aspirations for social, economic, cultural and political development.[1]

To the extent that the reduction of regional disparities depends upon an understanding of the social parameters of planning and an advancement of techniques of regional planning new types of support facility are necessary, and those responsible for such planning will require a broader range of skills and understanding than has heretofore been necessary.

In both Kenya and Tanzania the shortage of sufficiently disaggregated data has, as this paper amply demonstrates, condemned discussion of disparities to a high level of impressionism. A step towards improvement is the development of facilities for the systematic compilation of the kinds of statistics which can illuminate the full dimension of disparity. The need for central compilation and analysis of such data will remain whatever the level of decentralisation of planning, but it can be effective only if the regions are involved in systematic production of relevant statistics.

The absence of technical expertise for probing the full dimension of disparity has been a further constraint. Leaving aside the question of the desirability of the kind of highly sophisticated analyses which are now being used elsewhere to probe the nature of inequalities, we can see that the people to carry out such analyses are not available. The most likely source of such expertise is the university; but Ministries in East Africa tend, not without some justification, to view universities as sources of destructive criticism, and are frequently unwilling to release whatever data they have on the grounds that they might provide ammunition for those more interested in damaging sensationalism than in finding a constructive solution to the problems. Improvement in the planning process seems to demand the development of means whereby Ministries can get access to the kind of vision and understanding which can be the contribution of researchers who are not themselves burdened with the daily task of running the educational system. At the same time there needs to be a new approach to research, including its de-mystification, such that it is treated not as the preserve of university academics but as a process of systematic enquiry and data-gathering which can be carried on by a wide range of individuals and groups.[1] In both Kenya and Tanzania the work of the National Christian Councils provides examples of research on education outside the usual University-Ministry axis which is having a significant impact upon our understanding of regional disparities, and frequently the work of students or teachers offers much which can increase our understanding. In Tanzania the evaluation work done in connection previously with the literacy campaigns and now with teacher training for UPE are further examples of the ways in which a broad conception of research can assist planning.

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[1] The United Republic of Tanzania. *Annual manpower report to the President*, p. vii.

The experience of Kenya and Tanzania suggests that two qualities required of planners for the kind of regional task being sketched here are a broad range of skills and experience combined with an intimate understanding of local social contexts. Such a conclusion simply reaffirms an argument already made by Weiler:

> If as some argue, planning at the regional or provincial level is likely to be of a more integrated nature, the educational planner at that level will need to understand the development and planning problems in such related sectors as health, agricultural production, housing, infrastructure development etc. Similarly, if planning, especially at the level of the local community, is to involve the active participation of the members of the community, a rather thorough understanding of the social and political fabric of the community is needed in order to maximise the benefits of such participation for the planning process.[2]

This is not the place to propose a broad agenda for research. However, our review of developments in Kenya and Tanzania does suggest certain areas of priority importance which should be mentioned. We have in the preceding pages repeatedly emphasised the importance of selection mechanisms to the issue of regional equity, and an intensification of research into selection content seems to be an urgent requirement in both Kenya and Tanzania. In both countries opportunities will continue to be differentially valued and hence their allocation in an equitable and regionally acceptable manner will remain an issue of the utmost political and educational significance. A particular need is research relating to the content of examinations and the validity of various alternative types of selection, such as Tanzania in particular is beginning to investigate. A second and complementary research priority is for studies which document the process and criteria of individual advancement, from the standpoint both of performance and of equity. Thirdly, in view of the evidence on the effect of school quality on individual performance and hence regional equity in both Kenya and Tanzania, this is an important area for research. Our own view here is that while the components are not beyond identification and hence manipulation for improved equity, they are not easily identified in large-scale macro-level studies. There is a corresponding need for such approaches to be supplemented by small-scale assessments of individual schools and communities for an understanding of what we mean by the 'quality' which is produced and the kind of achievement which is recorded on national examinations. Such research will not remove disparities. A central assumption of this paper has been the view that disparities will not be quickly or easily removed whatever the political complexion of developmental policy. It may, however, increase understanding to the point where planning can itself be part of the process of reducing the most glaring kinds of disparity and hence help to avoid the destructive consequences of their extreme continuation.

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[1] Some examples and possibilities are discussed in David Court, 'Social science research and professional education', *Kenya education review*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1976.

[2] Hans N. Weiler, 'Changing concepts and practices of educational planning: implications for training', p. 11.

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Analysis of regional disparities has been a neglected field of educational research. Apart from a few exceptions, research workers have devoted their attention to studying social inequalities. Politically, however, the reduction of regional disparities has become a major concern in many countries, and the achievement of this objective is given priority even if other types of inequalities are greater than those existing between regions.

The main aim of this book is to stimulate discussion on the importance and significance of the regional disparities issue and its implications for planners. The four case studies illustrate various methods of diagnosis and different types of analysis of the determinants influencing regional disparities in the field of education. At the same time, they show the constraints involved in, and the consequences of, certain equalization measures applied in specific socio-economic and political development contexts. They in no way claim to present models or standard solutions.

The choice of countries was made on the basis of pragmatic rules and for reasons of convenience, and not in function of criteria of representativeness. It is hoped, however, that the various authors' approach to the research topic has been sufficiently open to provide their studies with a wider interest extending beyond the national framework to which they refer.

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